

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ANNALS
OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

ISSUED BY THE
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY
J. P. DROOP

VOL. XXII Nos. 1—2
MCMXXXV

22
1935

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Roman Chester : The Extra-Mural Settlement at Saltney. R. NEWSTEAD. (With Plates I-VII)	3
The Roman Fortress at Chester : a Newly-discovered Turret and Rampart Building. R. NEWSTEAD and J. P. DROOP. (With Plates VIII-X)	19
Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals. O. R. GURNEY. (With Plates XI-XIV)	31
Maiden Castle, Bickerton : Preliminary Excavations, 1934. W. J. VARLEY. (With Plates XV-XXII)	97
The Beacon Speech in the <i>Agamemnon</i> . A. Y. CAMPBELL	111
Book Reviews	128

ROMAN CHESTER: THE EXTRA-MURAL SETTLEMENT AT SALTNEY

BY R. NEWSTEAD

WITH PLATES I-VII

THE Roman settlement which forms the subject of this paper occupies an almost central position on the site of the City of Chester's Lache Housing Estate at Saltney. Nearly all the material finds came from a narrow strip of land following the line of Cliveden Road, being found in the deeper cuts made for the sewers, bilateral drains, and water-mains during the years 1930-1935. Elsewhere the cuts for the foundations of the new houses were too shallow to reach the Roman occupation levels.

The discovery of Roman remains at Saltney, however, dates back to the year 1899,¹ when a few fragments of pottery were found in close association with a human skeleton and a skull of the long-faced ox (*Bos longifrons*); these were found buried near the edge of the shallow cliffs of boulder clay, which, in the remote past, had formed a natural barrier against the tidal actions of the sea.

Our more recent finds in the northern area, however, lie about 1000 feet E. of the spot where the skeleton was found, and they show that there were two principal centres of occupation, here referred to as the north and south areas respectively. The former yielded by far the greater wealth of pottery, also several shallow drainage ditches and traces of the foundations of buildings, but these last were so fragmentary that they gave no clue to their former arrangement. Broken Roman roof-tiles were found scattered over the whole of the area. That the settlement was occupied from the closing years of the first to the end of the third century, or possibly later, may be gathered from the pottery; it seems clear also that the occupation was very slight at the beginning and the end, and that it was most intensive during the latter half of

1. Newstead, R., *Report, Chester Soc. Nat. Sc.*, 1899-1900, p. 26, figs. 1-3.

the second century. It may appear hazardous to suggest the nature of the industry which was carried on during that period; but the presence of drainage ditches on heavy clay land points to an agricultural settlement, where crops were raised probably for the use of the legion stationed within the fortress of Deva.

The geographical position of this settlement lies in a flat open country at the fringe of the extensive marsh lands which extend westwards towards the foot of the Welsh hills. The soil consists of heavy glacial clay, with patches of sand and gravel, and is characteristic of the surface deposits of the Cheshire Plain. The highest point (46.0 o.d.) is reached near the centre of the northern area (Site 5); westwards beyond the 'clay cliff' the land falls away rather suddenly, and its lowest level (14.0 o.d.) is reached in the area towards Balderton Brook, where borings revealed a stratum of running sand.

In the marsh land SW. of the Roman settlement cuttings and borings revealed the presence of a submerged forest, hitherto unknown, lying buried a few feet below the existing surface of the land, and at a level approximating to those of the Upper Forest Beds at Rhyl and Llandudno. The deposit was rich in plant remains, among which hazel, birch and oak predominated. Sections of the last-named show that some of the trees had lived for a period of about eighty years, but during that time growth had been relatively slow and markedly unilateral, due, it may be, to the action of strong prevailing winds.

In the deep cuttings through the boulder clay in the S. area the remains of the long-faced ox occurred quite freely; these remains were highly fossilised, and with the exception of a few teeth were broken into small pieces, thereby differing materially from the meat bones found in the Roman deposits here and elsewhere.

Eastwards of the S. area, at the junction of Lache Lane and Cliveden Road, a raised sea-beach was intersected at a depth of 10 feet below the road-metalling; the deposit consisted of coarse silt and gravel, and was heavily charged with marine shells of the genera *Cardium*, *Cyprina*, *Turritella*, *Dentalium*, etc., relics of the time when this part of the earth's surface was below the level of the sea. Water flowed into the cut for a few days at the rate of from 20 to 30 gallons per hour, and similar geological features were found to exist elsewhere along the lane in a NE. direction.

NORTHERN AREA (SITES 1-8)

Plate II

Site 1. This site is given only on the key plan (Pl. I). It indicates the relative position of the human skeleton, Roman pottery, etc., which were found there in 1899.

Site 2. Here was first found enough Roman pottery to prove the occupation of the site in a relatively narrow cut made for the reception of a water-main. At the spot indicated on the plan, the cut passed through a blackish deposit, covering a lineal area of about 6 feet, and from the excavated material quite an interesting collection of Roman sherds was collected, including the Samian forms 31, 33, 45 (Pl. IV, 14) and the fine bowl illustrated on Pl. III, 2, and Pl. V, 2. It is highly probable that the blackish deposit was the infilling of a ditch, but at the time this was not recognised.

Site 3. Here a somewhat oblique section of a ditch (Fig. 1) was intersected, the maximum depth of which was 2 feet 6 inches. The infilling was of a blackish colour, freely charged with bits of charcoal and a quantity of Roman sherds consisting largely of broken amphorae and large store jars. The mortarium (Pl. VI, 14) came from the bottom of the ditch.

Site 4. This lies almost immediately opposite Site 3, and is evidently a continuation eastwards of the same ditch, but its outline was not at all clearly defined. The infilling, however, was precisely similar, and it contained much broken pottery datable to the second and third or fourth centuries.

Site 5. Here a very clear section of a distinctly V-shaped ditch (Fig. 1) was intersected at right angles to its course—E.-W. There was a good deal of pottery mixed up with the infilling, the most interesting being the fragments of the Samian bowl by the potter *Secundus* (Pl. III, 1, 1a).

The Roman occupation layer was also traced for some distance on either side of the ditch.

Site 6. Here another ditch (Fig. 1) running N.-S. was intersected, but it was shallower and slightly nearer the existing surface of the land than that of No. 5. A few bits of cooking pots were found in the infilling, but these did not admit of close dating.

Site 7. The structural remains found here consisted of the footings of two walls, T-shaped in plan; that running E.-W. measured 17 feet, the other a little less. These foundations were of a very poor quality, being made up with odd bits of undressed sandstone (evidently from the quarries at Chester), bits of Roman roofing tiles, boulders from the local drift, and one large fragment of a wine jar; the whole set in puddled clay.

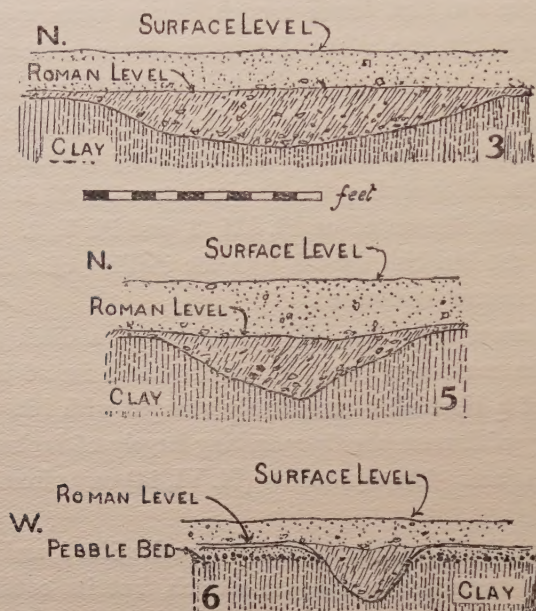


Fig. 1.—SECTIONS OF DITCHES. SITES 3, 5, AND 6.

Five feet east of the E. wall a shallow ditch was, in part, traced to a total length of 120 feet. As it was in alignment with that on Site 6, the probabilities are that they were originally connected. Rims of the hammer-head type of mortarium, datable to the third or fourth centuries, came from the bottom of this ditch.

Site 7a. Here the footings of another wall were traced for a length of 25 feet. They were constructed of the same kind of material as those on Site 7. No datable material was found in them.

Site 8. Hereabouts the Roman occupation level ceased abruptly; it may be taken, therefore, as marking the southern limits of the northern area. Southwards beyond this point to the other area nothing noteworthy was found.

SOUTHERN AREA

Plate II

Site 9. This lies about 1000 feet south of the northern area. Here were traced a short length of the footings of a wall running obliquely across the very shallow cuts for the foundations of the new buildings. These footings were of a nature precisely similar to those found on Sites 7 and 7a, and were the only structural remains found in this area.

Site 10. The mortarium (Pl. VI, 10) of late first-century origin was found here; it was quite isolated, and was the only example found in this area which could be attributed to the early occupation of the site.

Site 11. The Roman disc-shaped millstone was found here. With it there were a few bits of undatable pottery, and several small, roughly dressed blocks of local sandstone, lying in a tumbled formation.

Site 12. The coin of Vespasian was found here together with bits of second-century cooking pots.

Site 13. Fragments of a Castor ware hunt-cup were found here. These were lying at the top of a small blackish deposit, probably the upper surface of a small refuse pit or ditch, which unfortunately was left unexplored as deeper cuts were not permissible.

Site 14. A deep cut was made here all along the dotted line shown in the plan. Here the Roman occupation layer was lying 4 feet below the existing surface of the land, a much greater depth than it was found to be elsewhere in this area. It formed a well-marked deposit averaging 14 inches thick, consisting of dark-coloured silt, with much charcoal, a few meat bones of the ox, bits of roofing tiles, etc. From it nearly 200 fragments of coarse ware pottery and two pieces of the Samian vessels, forms 31 and 37, were gathered. All the sherds were in a bad state of preservation, owing, apparently, to the waterlogged condition of the deposit. None of the vessels admitted of reconstruction, but their forms indicated that the period of occupation extended from about the middle of the second century to the third or possibly to the fourth century, the latest datable pieces being the mortaria with the hammer-head type of rim.

Site 15. Much pottery was found here and also a little farther south. It possessed the same characteristics as that from Site 14. The Roman occupation level at this point was 18 inches below the surface.

Roman pottery was also found in many places on both sides of Cliveden Road up to a distance of about 300 feet south from Site 15, where, on the west side of the road, the beehive type of millstone was found. Beyond this no trace was found of the Roman occupation southwards.

SAMIAN WARE (*Terra Sigillata*)

Plates III, IV, V

Fragments of more than one hundred and fifty vessels were found, mostly from the northern area. Of this relatively large number four only can be attributed to the last quarter of the first century, the remainder being characteristic of the vessels in use chiefly during the latter half of the second century. The late first-century forms represented were Dragendorff's 29 (Pl. IV, 10), 30 (Pl. IV, 11), 15, and two small examples of 18. The second-century examples may be divided as follows:—Form 37, sixty-one, of which seven are illustrated, but one only admitted of complete reconstruction; form 33, twenty-two; form 18/31, sixty-eight, chiefly large examples with deep sloping sides; form 36, two; lion-spouted mortaria (Pl. IV, 14), four; Curle's form 21, three (Pl. IV, 12, 13); and there is one small sherd of incised sigillata belonging to a cup of Déchelette's form 72 (Pl. III, 9). Details of the vessels illustrated are as follows:—

1, 1a. Form 37. These two sections belong to opposite sides of the same bowl. The ovolo closely resembles that of the potter *Cinnamus* (O. and P., No. 93). The decoration below the border is in panels, divided by bead-rows; the compartments enclosing medallions, festoons, etc. The sequence of the *motifs* from left to right is as follows:—(1) Pan (Déch. 411), but with the cephalic horns and the pipes obliterated; (2) Perseus, with the head of Medusa (Déch. 146); (3) panel divided, upper with festoon enclosing hare; lower with figure seated as in the bowl, by *Divixtus* (May, *Colchester*, Pl. XXV, No. 180, not Déch. 534 as there stated); in opposite corner mask of Pan (Déch. 675), and below this a large dolphin beneath which is a curious nondescript *motif*; (5) narrow panel with a series of three small dolphins. These *motifs* are, in part, repeated in Fig. 1a. Period Antonine. N. area. Site 5.

Obviously the decoration of this vessel bears the impress of individuality; and being unable to trace a close parallel I ventured to ask Dr. Felix Oswald if he could throw any light on the subject, and he

has, in his usual magnanimous way, replied as follows: 'I think that I can definitely state that the specimen is the work of *Secundus* of Lezoux.' 'A bowl¹ in my possession, signed *Secundus*, has these characteristic narrow panels with small dolphins, the hare in the festoon (more than semicircular) and the ovolo, as well as the kneeling figure (though this is used by many other Lezoux potters); in fact *Secundus* widely borrowed many types used by *Cinnamus*, but his narrow panels with dolphins are quite characteristic.'

'As to the second bowl (Pl. III, 2) I think it is very likely by the same potter though I cannot be so sure, but the ovolo seems similar. The vertical ornament (with cornucopiae) is indeed much used by the Rheinzabern potter *B F Attoni* and he no doubt borrowed it from Lezoux; but the Cupid with torches is characteristically a Lezoux type and does not occur at Rheinzabern.'

2. Bowl, form 37. The ovolo with its cable-tongue is very like that of the preceding, and the decoration below it is also in panels divided by bead-rows:—(1) large medallion enclosing a 'caduceus-like' ornament,² but the *motif* seems to resemble a pair of cornucopiae tied to a central cable-like stem with an acorn suspended from its base, which is surrounded by a wreath formed by the long ends extending from the knot; below the medallion, and partly cut off by the groove surrounding the foot-ring, is a small horse used by *Cinnamus* (Déch. 908); (2) a caryatid near that of Déch. 657, and on either side of it a leaf with a long, wavy stalk extending to the bottom of the panel; (3) this panel is divided horizontally, the upper compartment with four large leaves on curved stalks, the lower panel with Eros (Déch. 265). Period Antonine. N. area. Site 2.

Though badly broken, nearly all the pieces of this bowl were recovered, which in its completeness shows that each panel was repeated four times.

3. A small fragment of form 37, showing portions of two panels divided by a cable-line; on the left is an eight-rayed star, and on the right two large concentric rings enclosing a central boss. Date probably Antonine. S. area.

4. Form 37. Free-style decoration with part of lioness and leopard

1. Ex coll. Dr. Plicque.

2. The same composite ornament occurs also at Silchester (May, p. 89, No. 222) and Balmuilty (Miller, Pl. XXXIII, Nos. 26, 27).

following mounted horseman (Déch. 157, *Paternus, Illix*). Period Hadrian–Antonine. N. area.

5. Form 37. Part of panel decoration, divided horizontally, with rabbit (Déch. 950) in medallion, and in the lower panel an amazon holding a peltate shield. Period probably Antonine. N. area.

6. The ornament on this small fragment is very like that which forms the horizontal tie to the 'cross-ornament' on the bowl from Birdoswald (Rich. and Bir., *C. and W. Trans.*, XXX, p. 183, No. 8), dated A.D. 200–220.

7. Form 37, showing on the left part of cruciform ornament in fine bead-rows, and part of panel enclosing a pair of fighting-cocks, as in the example at Silchester (May, Pl. XXVI, No. 61, p. 69); that on the right as in Déchelette (1025), the other as used by *Ciriuna* at Heligenberg (cf. May, *loc. cit.*). Period Trajan–Hadrian. N. area. Site 6.

8. Form 37. Part of warrior with shield (not in Déch.). Period doubtful but probably latter half of second century. S. area.

9. Part of globular beaker in cut-glass technique coated with very soft, pale, orange-red glaze. This class of *Terra Sigillata* seems to be extremely rare in this part of the country. Formerly there was one fair-sized piece in the collection at the Grosvenor Museum which had in all probability come from within the lines of the fortress, but it had no date. A third very small piece was found in Edgar's Field on the S. side of the city. Probably late Antonine. N. area. Site 6.

10. Form 29. A fragment with the moulding complete and a small section of the upper frieze. The latter shows part of a continuous winding scroll, with the tendrils ending in flower buds like those illustrated by Walters (*B.M. Cat.*, No. 24). Period late Flavian. N. area. Site 6.

11. Form 30. Two pieces representing the upper and lower half of the vessel respectively. The only portion of the design left seems to be part of a short wreath similar to that shown by Walters (*B.M. Cat.*, No. 1). Period late first–early second century. N. area. Site 5.

12, 13. The examples here illustrated are obviously slight variants of Curle's form 21, dated to the latter half of the second century. S. area. Site 14.

14. Form 45. Lion-spouted mortarium. In this example the spout is rather well modelled, though the snout of the mask had got badly squashed while the clay was still plastic. Period latter half of second century. N. area. Site 2.

COARSE POTTERY

Plates VI, VII

COOKING POTS AND BEAKERS

The four examples here illustrated were selected from a series of fragments from both sites, all of them in fumed grey ware, and for the most part typical of the cooking pots in use during the latter half of the second century.

1. Pale fumed grey clay, unpolished. A close parallel to the example from Balmuldy (Miller, p. 86, No. 1). N. area.

2. Fumed grey clay, polished. This example, with its rather long curveto rim, narrow body, and obtusely angled lattice pattern, seems to 'belong chiefly to the first half of the fourth century' (cf. Collingwood, *Roman Britain*, p. 235, No. 73). S. area.

3. Fumed grey clay, polished. This belongs to the 'neck-rim' class of cooking pot (cf. Collingwood, *loc. cit.*). N. area.

4. Fumed grey clay with traces of polish on both inner and outer surfaces. Rim with a broad shallow groove very like the example from Balmuldy (Miller, Pl. XLV, No. 18). No other example of this type was found. S. area.

5. Brick-red clay. Rim rather angular in section. Period doubtful, but probably late second century. S. area.

6. Soft brick-red clay with traces of white slip on the exterior of the horizontal rim. Base of neck with a rather broad groove. S. area.

Rim-fragments of three additional examples belonging to this class of vessel also occurred on the northern site a little S. of Henley Road.

BOWLS

7. Dull orange-red clay. Heavily moulded rim; maximum diameter 13 inches. Found in association with Samian ware datable to the latter half of the second century.

8. Similar to the above but with a strongly hooked rim.

Fragments of the rims of four additional examples of these heavy, thick-walled vessels were also found on the N. area of the settlement. What these vessels were like in their completeness is not clear; they

may, however, belong to the forms described by Grimes (*Holt*, p. 172, Nos. 228-30).

9. Buff-red clay, with marked traces of a thin, dull black slip on the exterior, the nature of which is puzzling and without parallel in this district. Diameter 10.5 inches. A very shallow vessel.

MORTARIA

The examples here figured are selected from a total of thirty-two rims. They illustrate in a striking way the various forms in use from the late first to the third or fourth century. The earliest period is represented by a single example (No. 10), which by itself might have been considered as a survival, or as a stray piece from the legionary fortress at Chester; but taken in conjunction with the Samian finds, which can be dated to the late Flavian period (p. 8), its presence may be considered a confirmation of an early settlement on the site. The series is remarkable for the preponderance of forms made in hard white clay, twenty-six examples as against six in brick-red clay. At Chester, within the lines of the fortress, the ratio is reversed. Mortaria of white clay are sparsely represented in the Holt collection at Cardiff, and Grimes (*Holt*, p. 146) states that they were probably not of Holt manufacture.

10. Soft brick-red clay with white spar extending to rim; the latter broad, rather flat, and with the bead well below the top of the curve. Very like Bushe-Fox's form 10 (*Wroxeter*, 1912), a typical late first-century example. S. area. Site 10.

11. Brick-red ware with white spar. Roll-rim type, with a shallow groove just within the outer margin, and a deep one on the interior in the position usually occupied by the beaded portion of the rim. Similar forms occur at Balmuildy (Miller, No. 15); also at Poltross Burn (Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, 1912, p. 71), and dated second century. S. area.

12-14a. All four examples in white clay with the grit extending to the rim. These forms are characterised by the heavy sloping rim and very prominent bead. No. 14 was found at the bottom of the ditch (N. area. Site 3) in association with pieces of the Samian bowl, form 37, exhibiting definite Antonine characteristics. Our examples are almost exact parallels to Bushe-Fox's form 114 (*loc. cit.*, p. 71), which is probably not earlier than the latter part of the second century.

15. White clay with the red-brown grit extending to the rim. This

is but a slight variant of the preceding, and seems to be a transitional form between them and the typical roll-rim types. Four examples not illustrated belong to this series. S. area.

16. Very hard overbaked creamy-white clay, the blackish grit extending to the top of the rim. Near Bushe-Fox's form No. 102 from Corbridge, date probably latter half of the second century. Two examples from S. area.

16A. Brick-red clay with white grit. The rim-section is very like Bushe-Fox's No. 54, and dated about A.D. 80-120.

17-23. All of these are in white clay with dark brown or blackish grit. They are all late forms and characteristic of the mortaria in use during the third and fourth centuries. Cf. Bushe-Fox, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 178-214.

Our numbers 19, 22 and 23 came from the S. area, the rest from the N. area.

VARIOUS

24. Fragment of a colander or strainer in brick-red clay. S. area, with much Antonine pottery.

25. Shallow dish in fumed grey clay; sides polished and scored with intersecting arcs. There were in all four examples of this kind. S. area.

26-27. Flanged dish with grooved rim and straight sloping sides. Exterior polished and sides decorated as in 25 or with lattice pattern. Eight examples, the form being represented on both N. and S. areas.

28. Dish with plain flange and similar in form to the preceding. This common form was represented on both N. and S. areas, and some of the fragments exhibited the lattice pattern so characteristic of these vessels.

29. Dish with a plain downward curved rim and a deep, broad concavity on its inner face. Clay pale brick-red. Found in association with second-century pottery. N. area.

30. Rim of thick-walled disc in brick-red clay. A deep groove on the exterior just below the rim gives this a beaded appearance. S. area.

31. Jug with single handle, in brick-red clay. The beaded rim deeply grooved. A jug of similar form is recorded from the late Antonine deposit in the Deanery Field, Chester (*Liverpool Annals*, Vol. XVIII, p. 127, No. 41 b). N. area.

32-36. Fragments of large store jars with heavy rims and thick walls. These were very common and widely distributed over the whole of the northern area, but were most plentiful in the broad shallow ditch, Site 3. None of the vessels, however, admits of complete reconstruction, though Nos. 32 and 36 may belong together. Date uncertain, but probably latter half of second century.

37. Handle of large jar, belonging, it may be, to vessels of the foregoing class. Cf. Grimes, *Holt*, p. 152, Nos. 69-75. N. area.

38. Rim-fragment of large store jar, with a narrow groove inside just below the rim. S. area.

39. Neck of flagon with portion of two-ribbed handle. Buff grey clay. Period uncertain. N. area.

40. Base of beaker with globular body and high pedestalled foot. Lower portion with a pair of girth-grooves, and below them a well-defined cordon. Hard grey clay, thickly coated with dull crimson slip. An unusual form, probably derived from the Samian (Cup) Ludowici type Vg. (cf. O. and P., Pl. LXXIX, No. 6) from Rheinzabern. This vessel came from the ditch, Site 3, and was associated with late second-century pottery. No example of this class of vessel is recorded from Holt, and it is possible if not probable that it was an imported product.

41-42. Portions of unguent pots in red clay. There were fragments of four of these, two from the N. and two from the S. area. This type is represented in the Holt collection (cf. Grimes, *Holt*, p. 172, Nos. 231-234), but is undated.

CASTOR WARE

(Not illustrated)

43. Neck and base of small bottle-necked flagon. Clay dull white coated with blackish-brown slip which, in places, merges into pale red. Site 3, N. area.

Other vessels of this class not illustrated are :—

- (a) The side fragment of a fluted beaker. S. area.
- (b) A small thin-walled beaker with an oblique rim. S. area.
- (c) Three side fragments of a 'Castor hunt-cup,' with the decoration in barbotine showing part of conventional tree and the leg of a deer. S. area. Site 13.

Friiled Tazzas (not illustrated). Rim fragments of three examples were found on the N. area, all belonging to relatively small vessels. For close parallels from the Antonine deposits in the Deanery Field, Chester, cf. *Liverpool Annals*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 32 and 37.

AMPHORAE

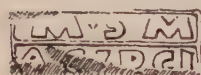
Fragments of the globular type were found freely distributed over both areas. The rim of one example bears the numeral X in graffito. Three stamps were found; these are described below:—



Scale 1:2.

In raised lettering stamped downwards on the handle. Type globular. Cf. *C.I.L.*, *Monte Testaccio*, XV, 2. I 3121, b.

With Antonine pottery, N. area.



Scale 1:2.

Stamp on amphora handle (probably globular type). Unfortunately the letters in the lower line are damaged by an oblique cut; obviously, however, it is like the stamp from the *Monte Testaccio* (*C.I.L.*, XV,

2574 b) that reads $\frac{M.S.M}{ACIRGI} = M.S() M(auri) (ex figlinis) Acirgi(anis?)$.

Found in the N. area near the coin of Marcus Aurelius.

For the one line stamp reading ACIRGI, cf. Bushe-Fox (*loc. cit.*, p. 65), who states that 'it appears to be the name of a place, not of a potter.'



Scale 1:2.

Terminal portion of stamp on handle. A similar imperfect stamp has occurred at *Monte Testaccio*, *C.I.L.*, XV, 3345. Found with other coarse pottery datable to the latter half of the second

century. S. area.

Zoomorphic spout (Plate V, 1) in the form of a ram's head. This is in rather soft brick-red clay, with very faint traces of haematite slip. It had evidently been made in a mould and cast in two pieces, leaving the interior hollow; nearly half the head is unfortunately missing, but the end of the spout is practically complete. The horn of the ram forms an almost complete circle, and the transverse wrinkles are indicated by a series of rather large notches; there are also a series of similar notches extending all along the line of the lower jaw. The ear, which

is cone-like in outline, lies with its tip resting on the inner curve of the horn. The vessel to which this spout belonged was very thick-walled (1.7 cm.) like a mortarium, but it seems unlikely to have been attached to a vessel of this class. Moreover it is much too large and altogether of the wrong construction to have formed one of the characteristic ram's-head handles to a skillet. S. area, south of Site 14, with Antonine pottery.

COINS

Three pieces were found, all of them very badly corroded and more or less illegible. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Harold Mattingly for determining them.

Vespasian (A.D. 69-79)

1. *Obv.* Head r.
Rev. Altar. P]ROVIDENT. In field sc.
- 2 Æ. Probably of Lugdunum, A.D. 77-78.
Site A.

Trajan (A.D. 98-117)

2. *Obv.* Head r.]TRAIAN[.
- Rev.* Victory l.
- 2 Æ. Early, c. A.D. 98-102. Site 6.

Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180)

3. *Obv.* Head laureate r. M·ANT[ONINVS] . . .
- Rev.* Obliterated.
- 2 Æ. Site S. of No. 5.

MISCELLANEOUS SMALL FINDS

1. Sard gem (Fig. 2) for a finger-ring, engraved with the nude figure of a dancer, holding what seems to be a phallic charm in her left hand and loose drapery on her right. A close parallel is figured by Bushe-Fox (*loc. cit.*, p. 27, fig. 18), but it is undated. This object was found in Lache Lane, near its junction with Cliveden Road (see key plan, Pl. I), a considerable distance S. from the Roman occupation sites.

2. Part of torque or amulet of Kimmerage shale. Complete this had a maximum diameter of 4.5 inches. S. area. Site 14.

3. Dagger-like weapon of iron with the tip broken away and the blade rectangular in section. When first found the end of the rounded tang bore marked traces of a collar or flange. Length of blade *c.* 3·3; tang 3·6 inches. S. area. Site 12.



Fig. 2.—SARD GEM. Scale 3:1.

Other small objects found include a stylus of iron, a chisel, a small pyriform bead, a few bits of sheet-lead and some bronze dross. The last-named from the S. area. Site 14.

QUERNS OR MILLSTONES

1. *Beehive type.* This is of the usual type, and in section that of a bluntly truncated cone. The grinding surface is finely fitted and slopes from the central pin-hole outwards. Diameter 12·5 inches (·318 m.). It is made of a very hard grit precisely similar to that of the one described below; but it belongs to a class of quern that is attributed to the Prehistoric Iron Age, though examples have been found elsewhere on Roman sites.

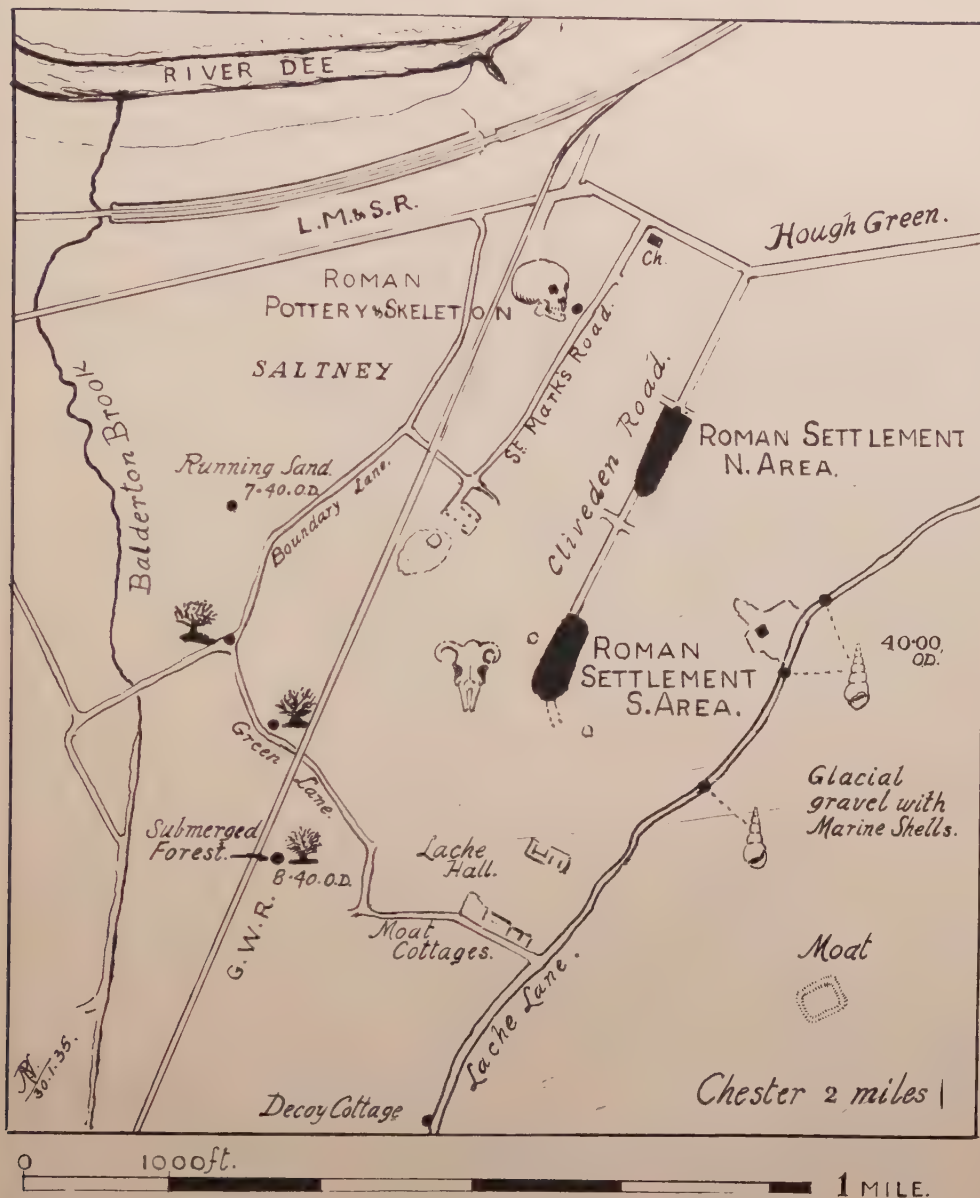
2. *Roman type.* This is of the usual disc-shaped form, with a central pin-hole from which, on the grinding surface, there radiate seven shallow grooves. Diameter 15 inches (·38 m.). Thickness at periphery 2·7 inches (·07 m.), through the pin-hole *c.* 4 inches (·10 m.). S. area. Site 9.

A small chip from this quern was examined by my colleague, Professor H. H. Read, Department of Geology, the University, Liverpool, and this is what he says about it: 'I have sliced the specimen from the Roman millstone, and compared it with other sandstones. It is an exceedingly hard sandstone made up of grains of quartz with no cement,

the absence of cement giving the stone its hardness and value as a millstone. I have tried to match it with other sliced sandstones in our collection but can find nothing that it is quite like. However, Dr. Neaverson, who is familiar with the Carboniferous deposits of N. Wales, tells me that he would have no hesitation in taking the millstone as of sandstone out of the Coal Measures of Denbigh and Flint. That means that if an erratic was used it would not have come very far.'

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

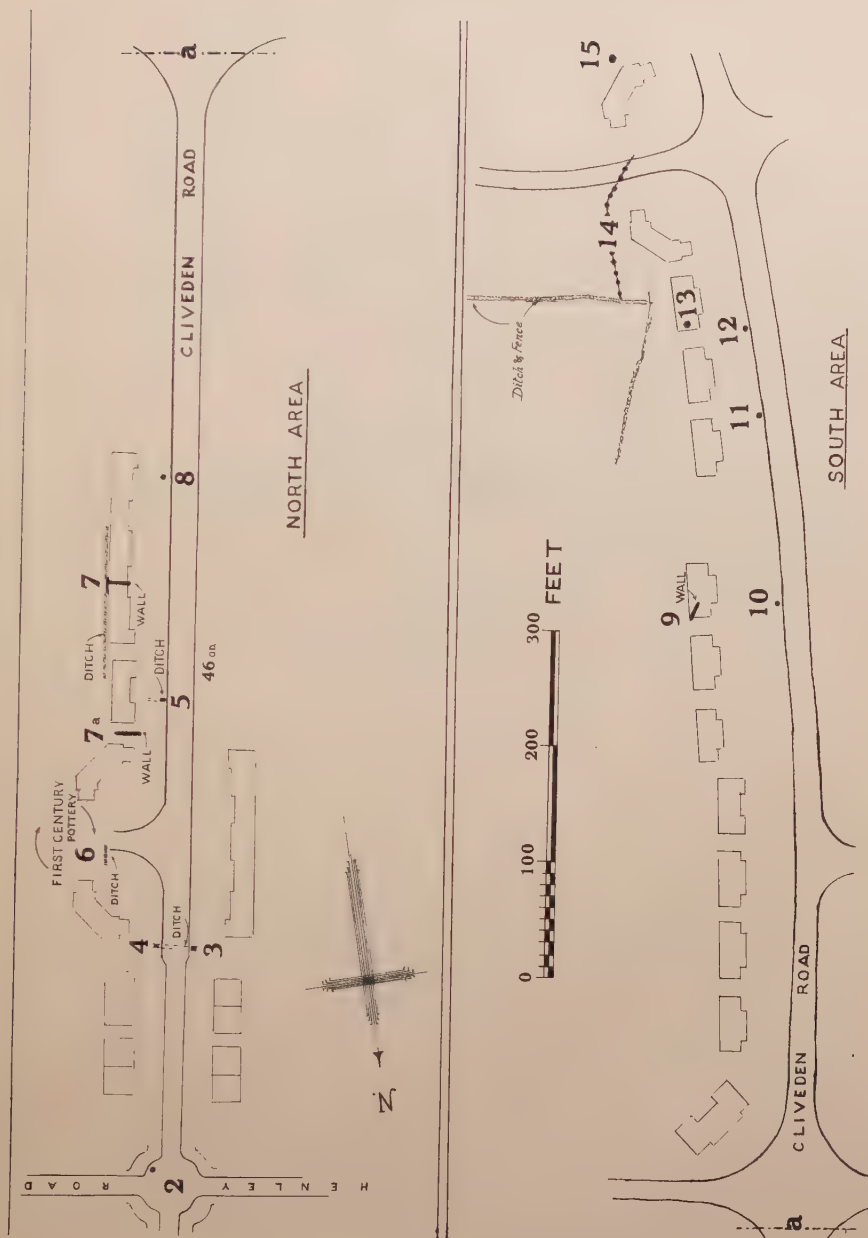
I am extremely indebted to the City Engineer, Mr. Charles Greenwood, for his great kindness to me during the course of my investigations; without his sympathy and help it would not have been possible to put on record so much information regarding the Roman occupation of the site.



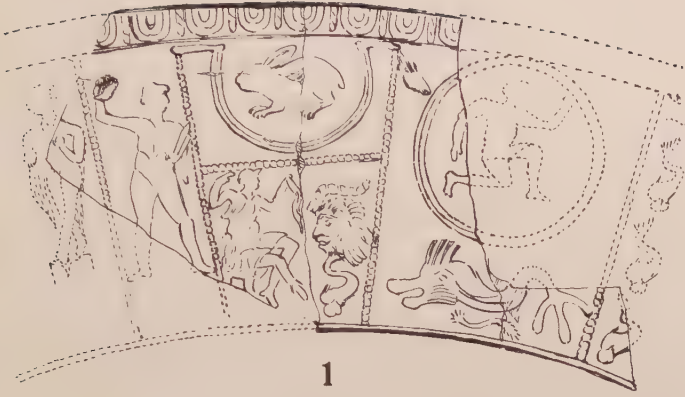
PLAN OF ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY, NEAR CHESTER.

Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

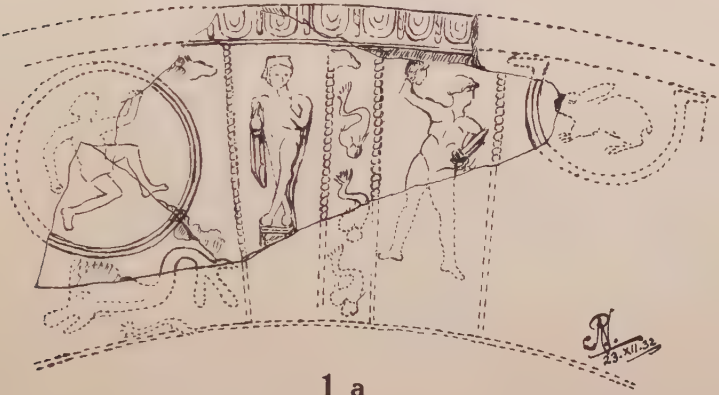
Printed by Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd.



ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY, NEAR CHESTER. DETAIL OF PLATE I
Based on the plan by The City Engineer, Mr. Charles Greenwood.



1

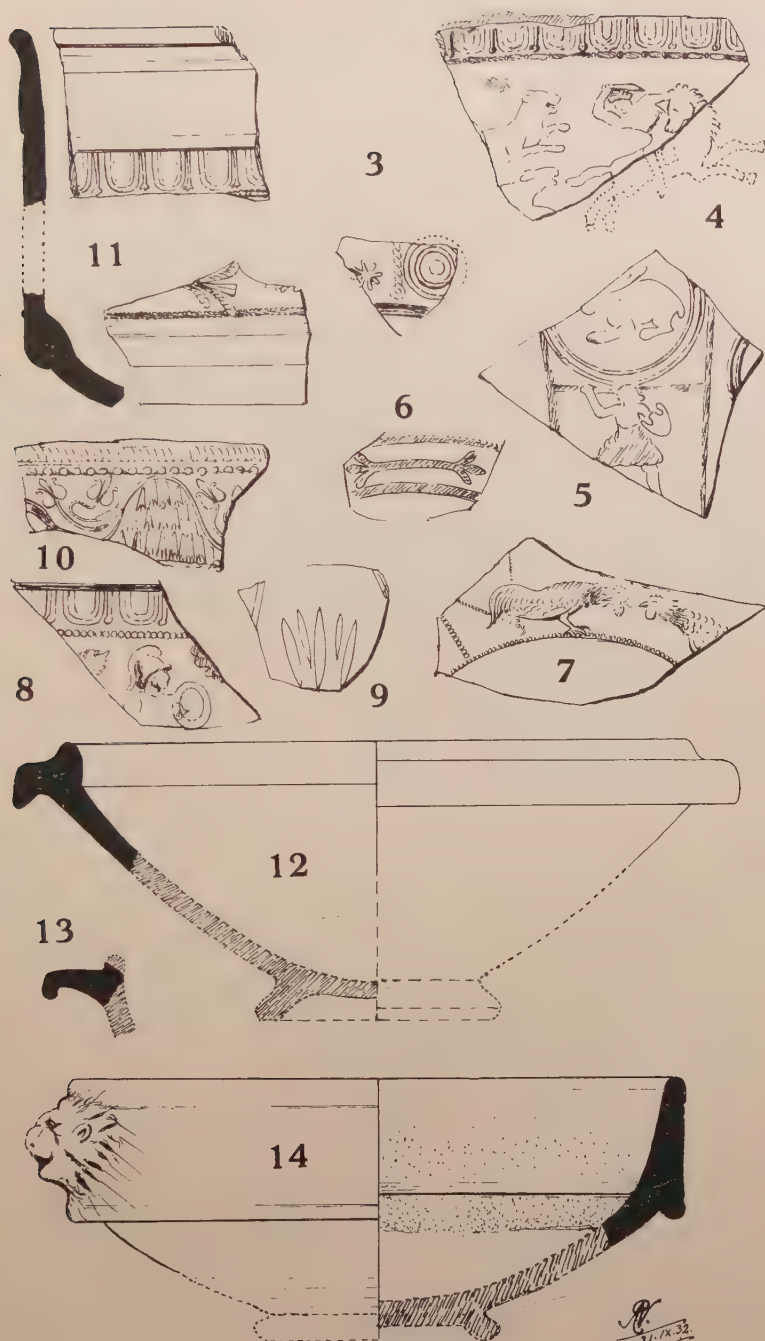


1 a



2





ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY. SAMIAN FORMS. SCALE 1:2.





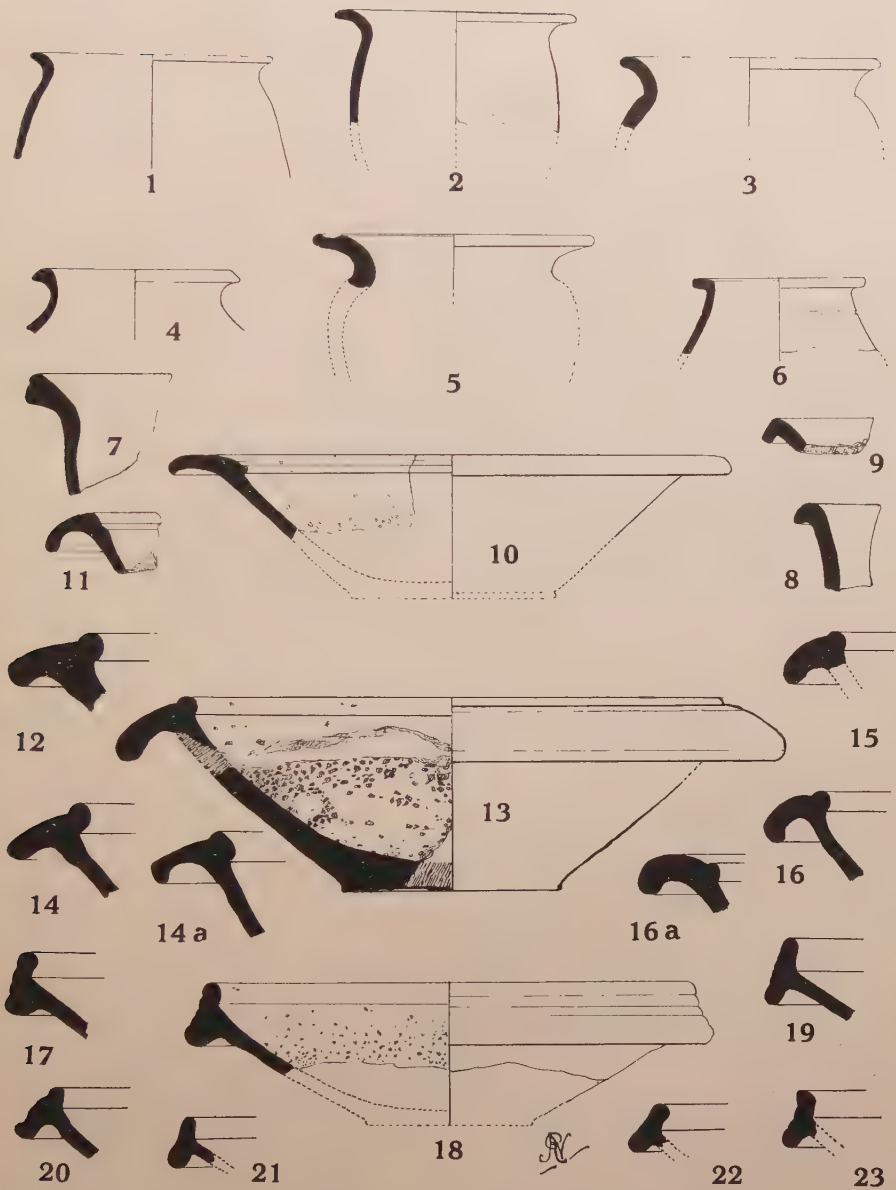
1



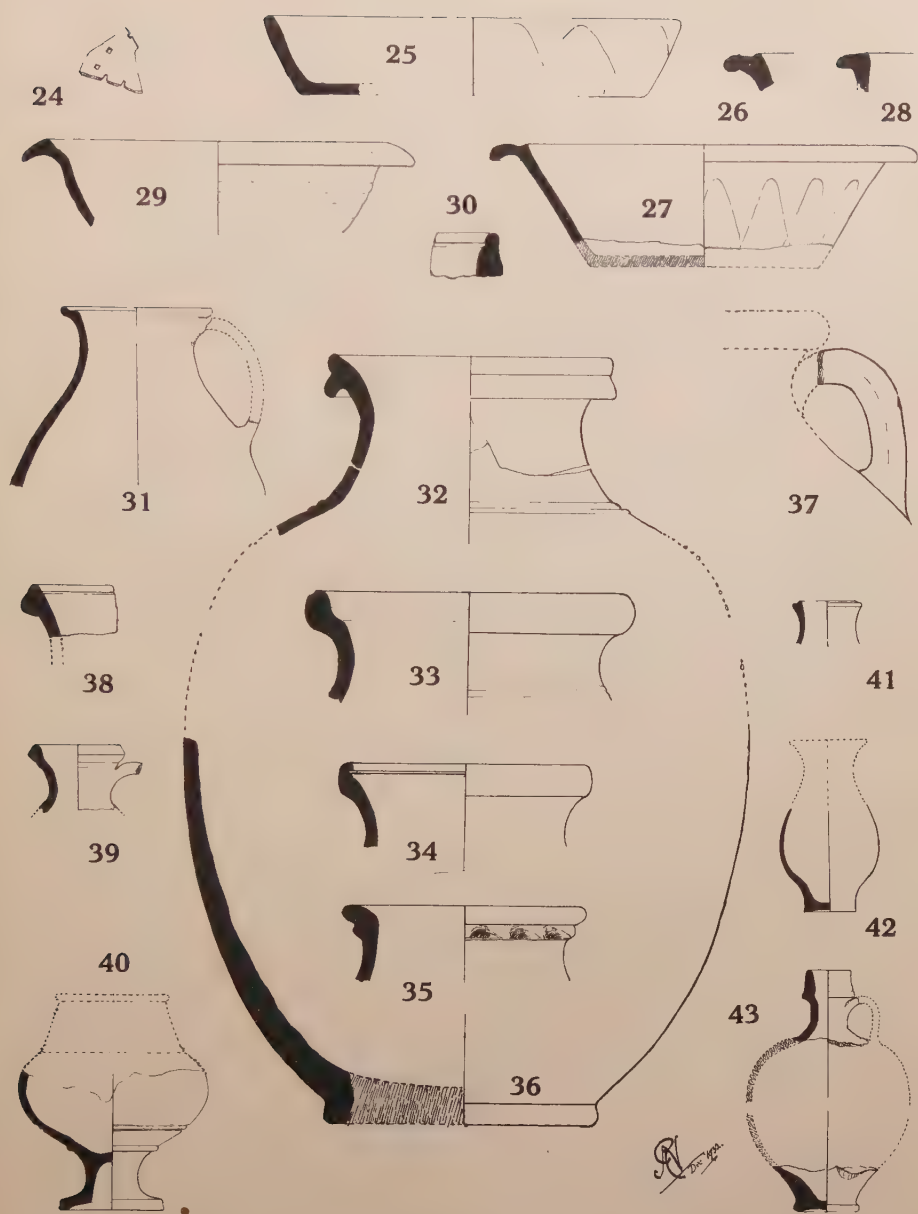
2

POTTERY FROM ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY.

Scale: Fig. 1, 1:1; Fig. 2, 1:2.



ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY. COARSE POTTERY. SCALE 1:4.



ROMAN SETTLEMENT, SALTNEY. COARSE POTTERY. SCALE 1:4.

THE ROMAN FORTRESS AT CHESTER: A NEWLY-DISCOVERED TURRET AND RAMPART BUILDING

By R. NEWSTEAD AND J. P. DROOP

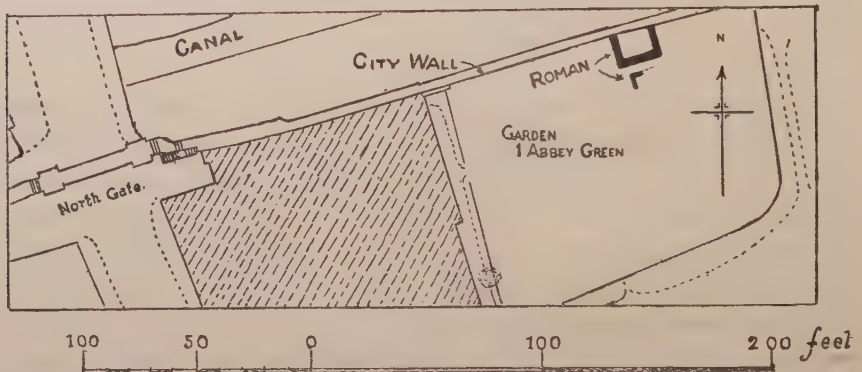
WITH PLATES VIII-X

IN January 1933 the unsuspected presence of a Roman building was brought to light during repairs to the S. side of the N. wall of the city.¹ It was a mere stump of a wall (Pl. VIII, fig. 2) measuring about three feet in length, but as it exhibited all the characteristics of Roman work it was considered to belong to one of the turrets or towers of the fortress. Unfortunately extensive excavations were not at that time permissible as the site was occupied by a standing crop of fruit trees. Recently, however, Mrs. Paige Cox and her daughters, the Misses M. and E. Paige Cox, became tenants of the house, No. 1 Abbey Green, and they very readily granted permission to dig in their garden where the structure was first discovered.

The exploration of the site was begun on December 3, 1934, and was continued for a fortnight. The results were eminently satisfactory, and proved, (1) that the first found architectural fragment was part of a Roman turret or tower the remains of which have now been traced on three sides; and (2) that the NW. angle of another Roman building also exists at a distance of 4 ft. 7 in. south of the S. face of the turret. This we hope to be able to explore at a later date, probably in the early summer of 1935.

1. Repairs to the S. face of the N. city wall by the NW. corner of the Deanery Field are now (January 1935) in progress, and from the rather shallow cuts made close up to the face of the wall a fair amount of Roman pottery chiefly of Antonine date has been collected, including the Samian forms 37 with the *motifs*—Mask of Pan (Déch. 675) and the smaller mask (Déch. 703), and the potters' stamps: (a) ADIECTI \overline{MA} , and DV on form 33. The latter is unfortunately incomplete but may represent the first two letters of DV[BITATVS].

The site of our newly-found structures lies about 230 feet E. from the centre of the North Gate, with its W. wall 84 feet E. from the E. front of the house, No. 1 Abbey Green. Hereabouts the upper portion of the City Wall is of mediaeval or comparatively modern construction, but it rests on Roman foundations built on the edge of the high sandstone cliff, which, at this point, towers above the Shropshire Union Canal. Indeed the chamfered plinth of the Roman wall can still be seen in many places between the North Gate and King Charles' Tower. Furthermore our excavations tend to prove that the great bank of earth which lies all along the S. face of the N. wall of the city, from our newly-found turret to the NE. angle of the city walls is, for the most part, the remains



Based upon the Ordnance Survey Map, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office. Printed by T. and A. Constable Ltd.

Fig. 1.—PLAN OF SITE.

of the northern rampart of the Roman fortress; from it, in our very limited exploration, we have secured several fragments of pottery of late Flavian origin which tend to prove that it is contemporary with the stone-built structures—the turret and the building standing at the foot of it, and also the barrack blocks in the Deanery Field near by. This report deals (a) with the finds discovered at the foot of the city walls during the repairs in February 1933; and (b) the results obtained from the excavations carried out in December 1934.

THE FINDS OF 1933

These must be considered as casual finds. All came from a shallow cut, averaging about 2 feet deep, made at the foot of the S. face of the City

Wall during the restorations. The soil which was excavated showed quite clearly that it had been disturbed, but it contained quite a number of Roman sherds representing in all twenty-nine different forms of vessel. These may be divided as follows :—

LATE FIRST-EARLY SECOND CENTURY

Mortaria.—Two of Bushe-Fox's forms, Nos. 10-18, and three haematite-coated examples, resembling Grimes' Holt forms, Nos. 5-8.

Cooking Pots.—Four in red clay and one in grey, the latter a close parallel to No. 16 of this report, but with two grooves above the shoulder.

Carinated Bowl with receded rim similar in form to that of Pl. X, 2.

CHIEFLY ANTONINE

Cooking Pots.—Four in rather soft grey clay, all with recurved rims and quite typical of second-century ware.

Shallow Pie Dishes.—Five in soft grey clay, decorated with lattice lines. This is a common form in all Antonine deposits at Chester. Collingwood's illustration (*Roman Britain*, p. 227, No. 44) may be given as an exact parallel.

Carinated Bowls.—Five large heavy forms in hard grey clay, decorated with lattice lines, and with the carination near the bottom of the vessel. Very like the example figured by Collingwood, *loc. cit.*, p. 222, No. 23.

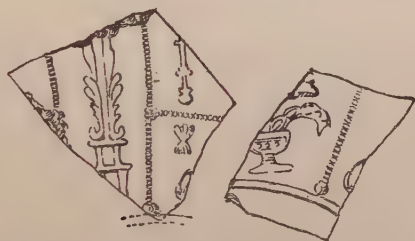


Fig. 2.—FRAGMENT OF SAMIAN VESSEL, FORM 37.
Scale 1:2.

SAMIAN (*Terra Sigillata*)

Form 37. Two fragments belonging apparently to the same vessel, one of which is blackened by the action of fire. The unusual decoration is illustrated in Fig. 2.

Form 35. The stamp Q.V.C. in the base of the interior is that of a Lezoux potter whose period of activity is given by Oswald (*Stamps*, p. 256) as Hadrian-Antonine.

LEGIONARY STAMP

This (Fig. 3) is imperfect, and is impressed on an ordinary roofing tile. The five large angular serrations at the end of the ansate border



Fig. 3.—LEGIONARY STAMP ON ROOFING TILE.
Scale 1:2.

are a distinctive feature of the stamp. But it differs from the Holt examples (Grimes, No. 5, p. 140) in having two extra teeth and also in the spacing of the letters.

THE FINDS OF 1934 (BUILDINGS)

Plates VIII, IX

THE TURRET

The turret was rectangular in plan. It gave an overall width of 22 ft. 8 in., and its maximum projection, from the inner face of the existing City Wall, was 14 ft. 9 in. Its footings, where traced, consisted of rock-rubble set in puddled clay and rested upon the natural rock.

The West Wall.—The section discovered in 1933 (Pl. VIII, 2) shows its juncture with the existing City Wall. The latter was composed of uncoursed rubble (*b*) and ashlar (*c*), and showed quite clearly that it had been laid down after the partial destruction of the Roman work. Furthermore, the mortar used in its construction was of a greyish colour with a mixture of coarse sand and bits of charcoal, while that of the Roman work was of a ferruginous colour due to the red sand in its com-

position. The maximum depth of the cuts at this point was 3 ft. 4 in. At the lowest levels on both sides were found twenty pieces of pottery all of them belonging to vessels of late first-century origin. Among these were the rims and side fragments of four carinated bowls and two pieces of egg-shell ware (Pl. X, 4, 10). Owing, unfortunately, to the flimsy nature of the footings of the City Wall at this point, no further excavations were permitted, so that we were left in doubt as to whether or not the sherds were laid down in a well stratified deposit.

The SW. Corner.—Here our excavations were carried down to the bottom of the footings (Pl. VIII, 1) and the solid rock.

The South Wall.—This was thicker than the others, and measured 4 ft. 2 in. (Pl. VIII, 1, and Pl. IX). The eastern third of it was reduced to the footings. Opposite the latter at the NE. corner (Section C-G, Pl. IX) the infilling against its outer face consisted of layers of grey loam, turves of a blackish colour, and finely broken rock or ‘Roach.’

The East Wall (Pl. VIII, 3, and Pl. IX). At its juncture with the City Wall the E. wall was standing to a height of 8 ft. above the footings. Its maximum thickness was 3 ft. 8 in., narrowing from the outer offset to 3 ft. Nearly two-thirds of it had been destroyed to the level of the footings.

Infilling of the Turret.—The infilling was explored at the inner NE. angle only (Section E-D, Pl. IX). There at the lower half of the cut were six alternate layers of grey loam and soft broken sandstone rock. The inference, therefore, is that the lower portion of the turret had been filled in to form a solid platform, and that the structure had in all probability been used as a ballistarium, correlating with that at the SE. angle of the fortress (Newstead and Droop, *Chester Journal*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 41-49; Pl. XXIX).

Infilling between Turret and Rampart Building (Section A-I, Pl. IX). The infilling below the recent deposits was capped by an almost continuous layer of shells of the common garden snail (*Helix aspersa*) and bits of Roman roofing tiles. The make-up below this consisted of much grey loam with patches of charcoal and sand. All of this was heavily charged with meat bones of the ox, including two jaws and horn-core of *Bos longifrons*.

Other animals represented were the pig or wild boar, the Celtic sheep, the lower jaw of a small dog, about the size of a terrier, and two leg bones of the domestic fowl. Of the mollusca there were an unusual number of oyster shells and also a fair sprinkling of those of the common mussel. This infilling also contained a rich assortment of broken pottery, including representative pieces of forty-five separate vessels, all of them exhibiting the characteristics common to the forms in use during the late Flavian period. Some of the coarse ware vessels are illustrated on Plate X, and the Samian forms are dealt with on p. 25.

Of the small material finds from this deposit the greatest treasure is part of a sword-sheath of gilded bronze (p. 26, Fig. 5).

The Building South of the Turret (Pl. VIII, 4).—The NW. corner of this building was cleared to the base of the footings. Its presence here is an indication that it belongs to a building that may be one of a series arranged like those at the Legionary Fortress of Caerleon (Nash Williams, *Arch. Camb.*, June 1931), described as 'rampart buildings.'

The N. wall of this lies 4 ft. 7 in. S. of the turret; it is standing to a height of 3 ft. 11 in., and is 1 ft. 11 in. thick. The shallow footings of rock-rubble, set in puddled clay, rest upon the surface of the natural rock, and the fine ashlar work is arranged in relatively narrow courses varying in depth from 3 to 8 in. The inner angle of this building was filled, almost flush with the upper courses of the walls, with broken roofing tiles set in puddled clay to a depth of 17 in.; and one complete ridge tile was placed in a vertical position close up to the face of the W. wall. This layer, presumably, represents the floor level of the room. The structure is altogether of excellent workmanship and stands out in marked contrast to the masonry of the turret-building. The only known parallel for this class of work at Chester was that of the E. wall of the so-called 'Scola,' which was discovered in what is now an open space at the E. end of St. Michael's Row (Newstead, *Chester Jour.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 114).

In his account of the excavations in the Deanery Field in 1883, Watkin (*Roman Cheshire*, p. 158) describes a building 70 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, lying with the longer axis of its N. wall 21 ft. from the S. face of the existing City Wall. Unfortunately he does not give the exact position of its W. end in its relation to the boundary wall which divides the Deanery Field from the garden of No. 1 Abbey Green. But Lawson

(*Chester Jour.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 166, Site IV on Pl. XXVII) places the W. end at a distance of 50 ft. E. of the boundary wall in question, and this may be taken as approximately correct. Furthermore, as Watkin's building is practically in alignment with the building recently found, it seems clear that it belongs to a series of rampart buildings arranged in a manner very like those at Caerleon (*loc. cit.*).

THE FINDS OF 1934 (POTTERY, ETC.)

SAMIAN (*Terra Sigillata*)

Four forms are represented, all from the same infilling as the coarse pottery. Of the plain forms there are four pieces of Drag. 27, one showing a grooved foot-ring; another, a large side-fragment, with exceptionally fine dark glaze, has a well-marked groove on the *interior* in a line with the junction of the side with the foot, seemingly a very unusual character; and scratched on the exterior, in the centre of the upper curve, are what appear to be the cursive letters L.I.

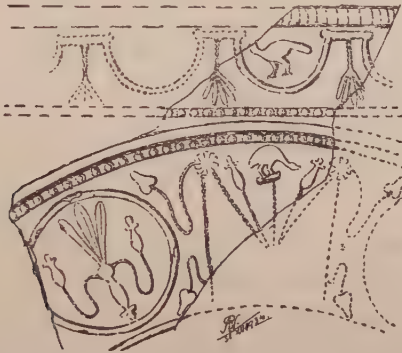


Fig. 4.—FRAGMENT OF SAMIAN VESSEL, FORM 29.
Scale 1:2.

Drag. 35 is represented by two fragments, both in brilliant dark glaze—one of them gives a diameter of 3·4 in. There is also one small piece from the bottom of a plate with a quarter-round fillet (Drag. 15/17) with a similar glaze.

The only decorated example are five fragments, conjoined, of Drag. 29 (Fig. 4). In this the upper frieze is decorated with semicircles (prob-

ably continuous) enclosing a bird to left. The central moulding is bordered on both sides with a row of beads. The lower frieze is decorated with metopes divided by wavy lines :—(1) Medallion enclosing a large 'lanceolate bud' supporting three long lanceolate leaves, and bilateral tendrils, each ending in a small lanceolate bud *without basal bracts*; corners with tendrils ending in heart-shaped leaves. (2) Of the cruciform ornament only the upper portion remains; this is formed of wavy lines tied at the corners with a large rosette; the central wavy line supports a 'Nile goose'; the bilaterals small lanceolate buds, like those at the end of the tendrils in the medallion.

OBJECTS OF BRONZE

Four objects were found in association with the pottery in the late Flavian deposit between the structures (Section A-I, Pl. IX).

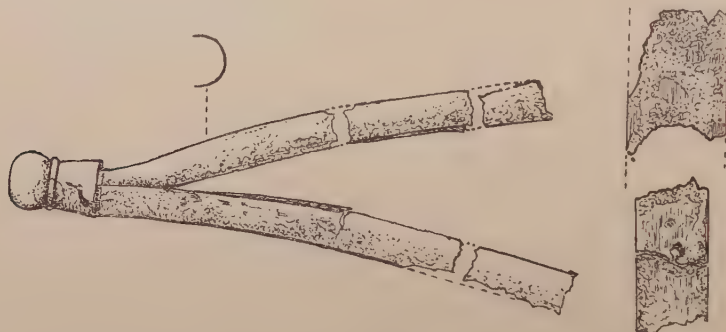


Fig. 5.—FRAGMENT OF GILDED BRONZE SCABBARD.
Scale 1:2.

1. A plain finger ring with the inner surface flattened. Diameter 1 in. (=·026 m.).
2. Ring belonging to harness or the like. Diameter 1·5 in. (=·0385 m.).
3. A small pin with a hemispherical setting of blue glass.
4. (Fig. 5.) Terminal portion of a gilded bronze scabbard for a sword or dagger. It consists of two, divergent, semi-cylindrical strips of very thin metal which overlap and form a cylindrical sheath at their

union with the broad collar of the knob-like terminal. Maximum length (exclusive of the detached fragments) 4·8 in. (=·121 m.).

In its general form and construction it bears a striking resemblance to the terminal portion of the bronze scabbard from the Thames, as illustrated in the *British Museum Guide*, p. 81, fig. 101. The two flat strips of gilded bronze illustrated were found lying one over the other in close association with the above; it may, therefore, be taken as a fair inference that they all belong together, and that the flat strips formed the transverse bands for holding the bilateral edgings of bronze together, as in the example from the Thames.

GLASS

There are five fragments of blue glass all of them belonging to a large flask-shaped vessel; also one colourless fragment of a small beaker with a fine beaded rim and one small piece of blue window glass. All of these came from the late Flavian deposit.

THE COARSE POTTERY

Plate X

CARINATED BOWLS

1. Carinated bowl with reeded rim in coarse red clay, an exceptionally large example with a heavy horizontal rim the flutings of which are but faintly indicated.

2. Brick red clay, the exterior smoked by the action of fire. Rim horizontal. Two additional examples of this form are also represented, one of which differs from the rest in having four grooves to the rim, a not uncommon feature in this class of vessels.

3. Very hard grey clay, the exterior slightly burnished by tooling on the wheel. Rim almost horizontal, side with a double girth groove.

4. This and also No. 10 belong to the finds of 1933. See pp. 21, 22.

MORTARIUM

5. Very hard white clay, shaded on the rim and also on the interior with smoky-buff and yellowish-buff slip. Grit particles brown or blackish brown and widely and thinly scattered throughout its composition; the majority of those on both surfaces had weathered out, leaving small angular pits. This vessel is unusually shallow, the bead rim slender and angular and for the most part broken away. Its distinctive feature is, however, the well formed foot-ring. It was found in four widely separated fragments representing about one half of the vessel; but unfortunately the spout was missing.

VARIOUS

6. Ring-mouthed flagon. This is a late first-early second-century form. It came from a disturbed stratum over the footings of the E. wall of the turret and cannot be considered of value for dating the structure.

7. Lower portion of a small hemispherical bowl with a well-formed foot-ring. The clay is of a very fine and of an orange-red colour, thinly coated with mica. In its general technique it very closely resembles the thin-walled bowl found in the Infirmary Field, Chester (*Liverpool Annals*, Vol. VIII, Pl. VIII, fig. 2), and is apparently a Holt type (cf. Grimes, *Holt*, No. 266, p. 172).

8. Foot of beaker or the like, in dull buff-red clay rather sparingly coated with mica.

9. Small cup or bowl, the lip with an inner bead and overhanging rim. Red clay with a grey core, and coated inside and out with a haematite wash. Probably a Holt fabric, but the form is not represented by Grimes in his report.

10. Fragment of small vessel of egg-shell ware. This belongs to the finds of 1933. See pp. 21, 22.

COOKING POTS

11. Fumed grey ware. The rim of this example bears a blotch of buff-coloured slip corresponding to similar blotches on two fragments

of 'rustic' ware. It is highly probable, therefore, that they all belong together.

12. Soft grey clay, the surface of the rim and shoulder coated with a substance which readily takes a dull jet-like polish when rubbed with a fairly stiff brush. Sides decorated with lattice pattern and the neck with an undulating scrawl. This vessel is characteristic of the 'neck rim' form of vessels and closely resembles that which is figured by Collingwood (*Roman Britain*, p. 232, No. 65); ours, however, has a much greater bulge, and is the first example of its kind found at Chester in first-century deposits; similar forms of this kind of vessel are, however, quite common in Antonine and later deposits.

13-15. These pots are all in hard grey clay, and may be taken as variants of these vessels with recurved rims. Four additional examples we also found in the same deposit, but one only shows a deep groove at the shoulder.

16. Hard grey clay, and coated with soot when found. This pot has a well-defined groove along the outer edge of the everted rim, and a broad deep groove at the shoulder.

17. Fine hard grey clay. Rim thickened and projecting inwards; neck with a ledge or step, and three girth grooves at the shoulder.

18-19. These are probably store jars, but they may also have been used for cooking purposes. Both are in fine red clay, and the surface of the rims are distinctly concave.

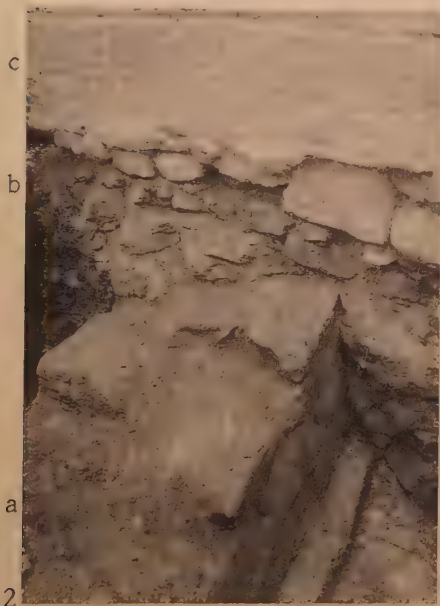
20. Small pot or beaker in grey clay, with a squat bead rim and a high shoulder.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

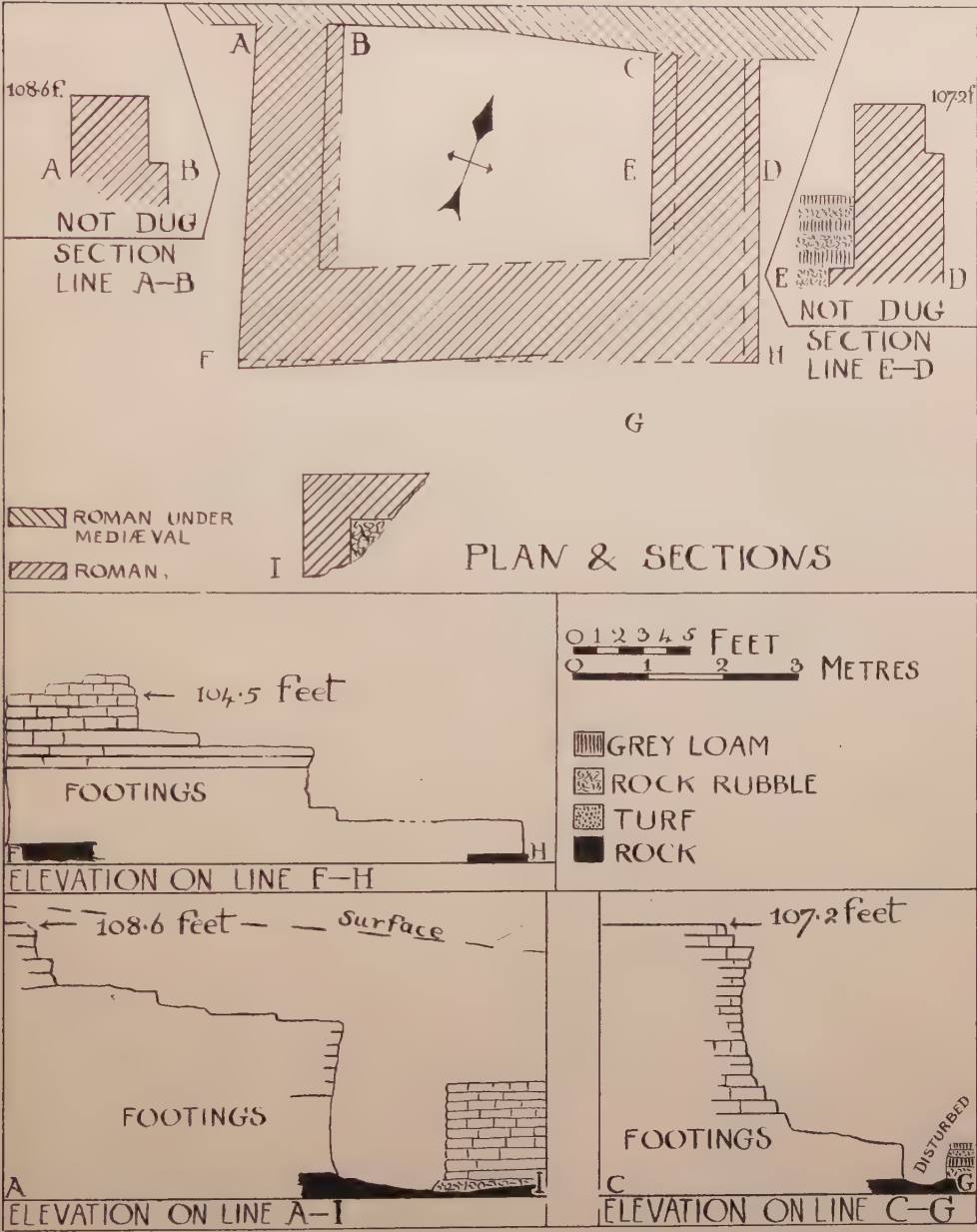
To Mrs. Paige Cox and her daughters, the Misses M. and E. Paige Cox, we owe a debt of gratitude, for permission to explore the site, which necessitated the destruction of their fruit trees; and also for leaving the ground fallow until we dig again. For contributions towards the

cost of the dig we tender our thanks to Col. T. H. Davies-Colley, for the sum of £5 ; and to an anonymous donor, for the sum of £1, 10s.

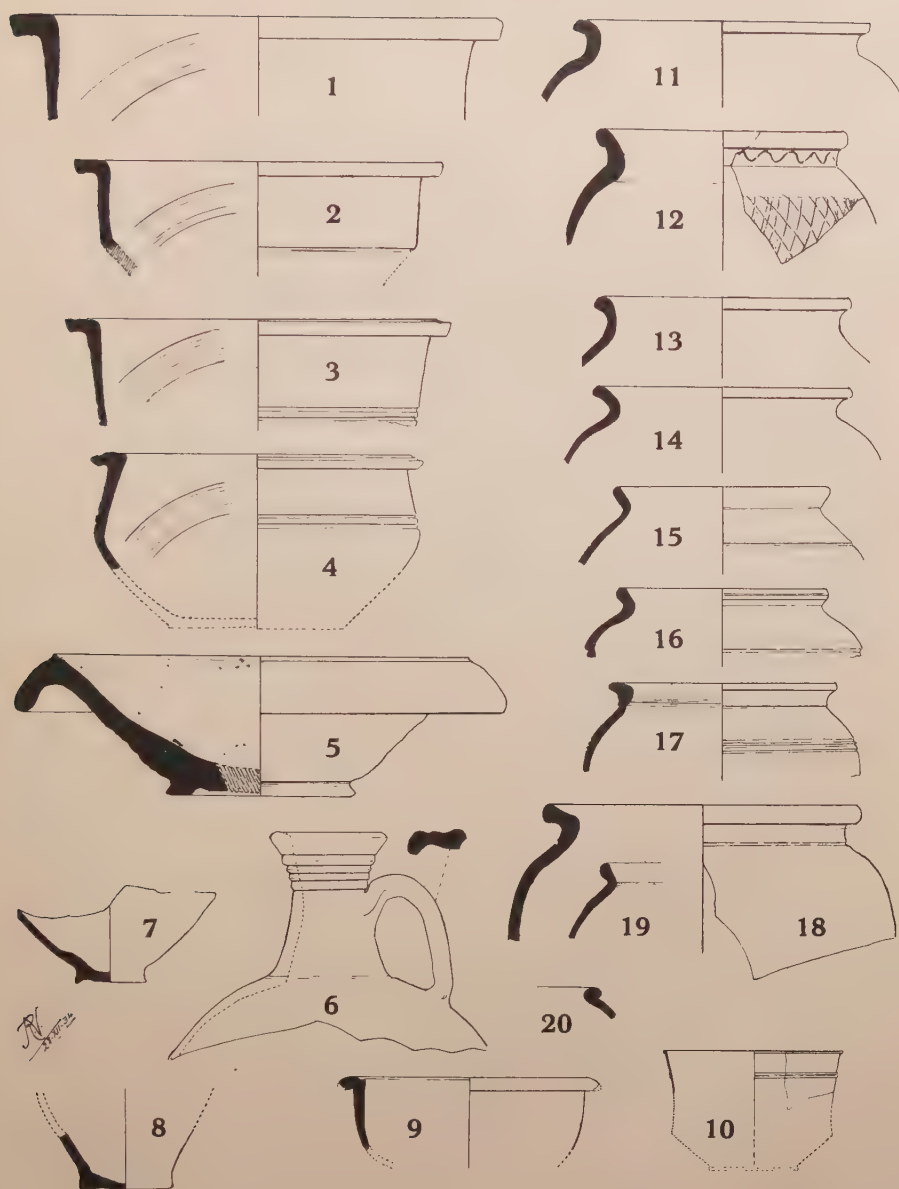
N.B.—The collection of pottery and the other small material finds are in the possession of Mrs. Paige Cox. They can be seen on application at No. 1 Abbey Green, Chester.



INTERVAL TOWER, NORTH WALL, ROMAN FORTRESS OF CHESTER.



INTERVAL TOWER, NORTH WALL, ROMAN FORTRESS OF CHESTER.



INTERVAL TOWER, NORTH WALL, ROMAN FORTRESS OF CHESTER.
COARSE POTTERY. SCALE 1:4.

BABYLONIAN PROPHYLACTIC FIGURES AND THEIR RITUALS

BY O. R. GURNEY

WITH PLATES XI-XIV

THE use of prophylactic figures in Babylonian rituals of exorcism is already well known. These figures belonged to a wide variety of types, and not only are they described in detail in the texts, but those made of clay have actually been found *in situ* at Ur and elsewhere. The figures excavated have been fully described and compared with the cuneiform descriptions by Mr. Woolley in *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, pp. 689-713, and in the same article Mr. Sidney Smith has collected and translated most of the texts relating to the part played by the figures in the Babylonian rituals. To the texts there given two of great importance have now to be added, and it is with these that the following pages are primarily concerned.

Text I is a ritual for the protection and purification of a house. It is composed of various fragments, some of which have been published before, but so many joins have been made that it is virtually a new text. The top part of the obverse of the tablet is K. 6068, published by Zimmern, as no. 45 of his *Ritualtafeln*. The third column has now been completed by K. 7860,¹ joined some time ago by Professor Langdon, +K. 7823 (=Zimmern, *ibid.*, no. 50), which I have now joined to the bottom of K. 7860. Four other fragments (K. 2987b, K. 3189, K. 7014, and K. 8788—the last three already published by Zimmern, *ibid.*, no. 41) have been joined to the reverse. Thus the hitherto disjointed parts of this long ceremony are now linked together and can be considered in their proper order.

1. See Zimmern, *Rt.*, p. 157, note μ .

The various evil influences which it is desired to expel from the house are enumerated at the beginning of obv. I. The end of the enumeration and the beginning of the following ritual are lost, but the contents of this column are undoubtedly supplied by K. 9968+K. 13252 (Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 46) with the duplicate, Sm. 2122 (Zimmern, no. 47), col. I; in fact the former is probably part of this same tablet: see note, p. 42. The whole of the obverse of the tablet is devoted to the ritual for the modelling of the figures of wood and clay, afterwards to be buried as protectors of the house against evil spirits. If Zimmern no. 46 may be treated as part of this tablet, the first group of statues to be made are those of the Seven Sages (*apkalê*),¹ which are of laurel-wood (*eru*). This was indeed to be expected from *K.A.R.*, 298 (text II, see below). Their construction is preceded by sacrifices to Shamash.

Next to be made is a large group of figures of tamarisk wood. The priest is again instructed to sacrifice and pray to Shamash (top of col. II), and dedicates the tamarisk wood to Shamash in words which are obscure; according to the interpretation given below the wood is actually identified with the god (see notes *ad loc.*). The priest now proceeds to carve (obv. II, 17 ff.) seven statues of the Seven Gods, seven statues of the Weapon-men, one statue of Narudu, sister of the Seven Gods (obv. III, 1-4), and one statue of the House God (obv. III, 5). One section is lost between the Seven Gods and the Weapon-men, probably describing the 'statue of tamarisk which is 1 cubit high' as in text II, obv. 33 ff.; and between the Weapon-men and Narudu (end of col. II) there is a large lacuna which probably contained descriptions of the various statues of tamarisk wood mentioned elsewhere in text II (obv. 41 and rev. 9, 11 and 23), together with certain others not mentioned in text II, as is indicated by the remains of Zimmern, no. 47, col. II. This done, an incantation is recited before Shamash (obv. III, 6).

At sunrise these statues are to be put into the 'tabernacle,' *kullatu*. This is a word of general significance, and since it occurs in our text in the singular only, it probably does not represent the boxes in which the clay figures were found at Ur. Now it seems that the priest does not enter the house which he is to purify until the words 'Thou shalt take to the house . . .' at the beginning of K. 8788=rev. I, 34, and that consequently the whole of the process of assembling the cult-implements

1. On the Seven Sages see below, p. 38 f.

and modelling the figures takes place elsewhere. We might therefore suppose that the *kullatu* is some temporary box for transporting the figures to the house; though this is rendered unlikely by the fact that in the incantation which follows, beginning 'Tabernacle of Anu and Enlil,' the *kullatu* is dignified by the (apparently alternative) names of 'Nin-dingira' (divine priestess?) and 'Wood of Fate' (obv. III, 16), thus receiving an importance disproportionate to a merely temporary container.

There follows (obv. III, 21 ff.) a statement before Shamash that the tabernacle for the statues is prepared and that the statues are intended to 'expel the Evil One and to stand in the house of So-and-so son of So-and-so.' After this there is a short break and then apparently the words just spoken are repeated.

The priest is now instructed (obv. III, 33 ff.) to make a further set of statues, this time of clay. The first group comprises the *apḫallê*, of whom there are four types, seven statues to each type, the section again ending with an incantation (see notes). Here we pass to K. 7823 (Zimmern, no. 50), which describes the remaining figures of clay as in text II, namely, the monsters of chaos, and the dogs (for which see below); this section occupies the remainder of the obverse and the first five lines of the reverse, col. I.

Having finished making all his statues of wood and clay, the priest is to take them to the river bank by night and consecrate them at sunrise, with sacrifices to Shamash, Ea, and Marduk: the end of this ceremony is lost.

Now at last the priest is to take the figures to the house. He sets 'them' (no further mention is made of the *kullatu*) on a mat of reeds, directs their faces to the sunrise (as before he had done at the river bank), and brings to them the vessel of holy water, censer, and torch (also as before). The purification of the house begins as usual at sunset, technically the beginning of the day. Elaborate sacrifices are made to Marduk (as god of lustration), and altars are erected and blood-sacrifices offered in honour of Anu, Enlil, Ea, and the House God; after which the cult-installation is dismantled and there is a division-line in the text.

There follow sacrifices to Kusud, Nin-ḫabur-sil-du,¹ the god and

1. See note on rev. I, 45.

goddess of the house and the *šédu* of the house, and at last the purification proper is able to begin. The process is described concisely in the text, and it is unnecessary to repeat it in detail here. There are two parts. First, certain parts of the house are touched (smeared?) with various substances; and secondly, the process of cleansing the house from sin is carried out by means of a remarkable set of objects (rev. I, 53 ff.). An incantation of some kind is then recited, and there is some reference to sunrise.

It is at this point (rev. II, 4 ff.) that the statues perform their function in the ceremony. But K. 7823 is very fragmentary here, and for the next section we are dependent on a duplicate,¹ which also contains only the ends of the lines. The statues were left on their platform of reed-matting with their faces towards the sunrise; so it is natural to suppose that the reference in rev. I, 63, indicates that the sun is now supposed to have risen (?). Sacrifices are first brought and offered,² and the priest then recites an incantation before each group of statues in turn, the incantation of course differing for each group. The first to be addressed is the 'statue of tamarisk'—presumably that described in *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 33 ff.; for the incantation, of which the first line is quoted there, is here given in full, beginning with the same line. The statues of the twins, Lugal-girra and Meslamta-ea, are not addressed: their incantation was not quoted at all in *K.A.R.*, 298, 43 ff. There is then a division-line, after which the Seven Gods (and their sister?) are addressed. This incantation continued (only a few signs are preserved) to the bottom of col. II, and here our text fails entirely, col. III being lost except for the last few lines of the colophon. It is probable that the last lines contained incantations to the remaining groups of statues; but it is unlikely that the specification of where each should be buried, as in *K.A.R.*, 298, was inserted here, though in any case there can be little doubt that the figures were finally disposed of in that way.

K.A.R., 298, is so closely related to this ritual that an edition of it has been included below, text II. It contains a concise list of all the figures used in the ritual, together with the first lines of the incantations proper

1. K. 8753 (=Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 42).

2. The text is badly broken here, but it is fairly certain that the sacrifices are offered to the 'statue of tamarisk' and those of the twins Lugal-girra and Meslamta-ea, since these are mentioned immediately afterwards. See rev. II with notes thereon.

to each and specifications of the place in the house where each is to be buried. As has already been seen, it provides us with many restorations in the main text. For the Babylonian priest it was evidently intended as a supplement to the principal tablet, specifying in detail the places for the burial of the statues.

The second of the new texts referred to above and the third edited here is one of the tablets in the *Utukki Limnuti* series, bilingual compositions intended for the healing of the sick; its number in the series is unknown. Of this text two copies, one Assyrian and one Neo-babylonian, have survived, both considerably broken. The Babylonian is published and somewhat inadequately edited¹ in *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*, Part II, no. 22, and is nearly complete. The Assyrian copy is published in *C.T.*, 16, 35 foll., and edited in Thompson, *Devils*, pp. 159 ff. It is there called Tablet 'D' (of the series), by which name it will be convenient to designate it here. Its obverse, containing the first two columns, is entirely lost; the upper part of the third column is published on Plate 35 and the upper part of the fourth column on Plate 36; and a comparison with the Babylonian tablet shows at once (as was recognised by Dr. Keiser in his edition of the Nies tablet) that Plate 38, published as a separate tablet 'F,' contains in reality the lower part of both these columns of tablet 'D.' K. 4625 (see below, Pl. XIV), a small fragment used by Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, p. 68, from copies by Weissbach, duplicates on the obverse the beginning of the lines in Nies 36-55, and the reverse runs from Nies 183-193. K. 3241, another fragment used by Falkenstein (*ibid.*), seems to belong partly in the break ll. 126-140 (=C.T., 16, 35. 44-38, III, 1), but it makes no consecutive sense.² It will be seen from the composite edition below how the various pieces are to be combined.

The text opens with a description of the activities of the *utukku*—here apparently only one, though usually seven are mentioned. This devil has infested not only the house of the sick man, but the high mountain, forest, reed-thicket, marsh, garden and well. The description is continued by Marduk addressing his father Ea (he was perhaps speaking before; the first few lines are lost): his shadow casts darkness at sunset,

1. By Dr. Keiser.

2. See Pl. XIV. Mr. Gadd tells me he thinks this is the work of a scribal learner.

there is no light in his body; he is able to move without loosening his garment (*nibittu*); he is described as a cyclone, the South wind, North wind, West wind, East wind.

In col. II the *utukku* becomes plural. Ea finishes his answer to Marduk by sending him to discover the 'deeds and ways' of the devils from Enlil. Enlil, however, sends him back to his father, who now bids him hasten to Belit-ili. She also sends him back to Eridu, for Ea himself knows the answer to his question and will reveal it to him. On his returning again to Eridu, Ea expounds to him the whole ritual.

He is to sacrifice to Shamash and bring the matter before him: he is to mention the name of the sick man's god, who will stand at his head and cease not. After a black kid has been sacrificed for use as a scapegoat, the man is to be placed on a platform—a performance which has been found illustrated on a Babylonian bronze plaque (Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 85¹)—and purified; this purification seems to have involved a set of instruments similar to, though not identical with, those used in the purification of the house, for a bronze bowl, a copper bell, a many-coloured cord, a censer and incense are mentioned, the rest being broken away. The man is then taken out into the open air and a line of meal-water is drawn about him, to serve as a ban against everything evil. When evening comes, the scapegoat is to be brought to the sick man, and a spell is to be cast, mentioning the names of the various evil influences which may have attacked him. Marduk is then to command the devils to come forth from the sick man and return to the lower world, and the skin of the scapegoat, into which the devils are supposed now to be transferred, is thrown into the street. 'The kid, the good genius' is now to stand at his head and cease not, and the man is apparently to go into the ritual-chamber (*kummu*).

At this point a metal-worker is to be brought. He is to go into the forest with a silver saw and make a 'wooden scapegoat' of tamarisk-wood, a 'statue of life.' He is then to make statues of 'the seven.' Unfortunately the text is broken here, and it is not clear whether any statues beside those of the *apkallê* are made. That these at least are made is unquestionable, for the text continues with their names, as in text II, obv., ll. 5-10. When made, they are to be brought to the house(?), and they also take their place at the sick man's head. Finally, two

1. See also Thureau-Dangin, *R.A.*, XVIII, 172 ff.; Frank, *Babylonische Beschwörungssprüche*, pp. 5, 44 ff.

statues of the twins are placed in the gateway wings, right and left, and the man is commended into the kindly hands of his god, who is to offer prayer and sacrifice to Shamash when he rises from his holy chamber.

The text concludes with an 'incantation,' apparently intended as a summary of the preceding ritual.

The bilingual 'incantation' IV Raw. 21a (Semitic recension published by Zimmern, no. 54) seems to have some connexion with a ritual similar to the foregoing. The first part is to be recited before the figures of 'The Winged Ones' (*šut kappê*), and the second part before the Seven Gods of laurel wood, carrying weapons. The 'winged ones' strongly suggest the *apḫallê* with birds' faces and wings such as are described in text II, obv., 12 ff.; and the incantation to be recited before them contains references to the many-coloured cord, the line of meal-water which is a ban of the great gods, and the twins of the court, bound together, all of which occur in the ritual of our text no. III. However, the similarity reaches no further than this. In the incantation the priest states that he has set up a number of statues in different parts of the house of the sick man, and this list closely resembles that in our text II, which we have seen to be intended for the purification of a house. In this respect, therefore, this incantation should be compared perhaps rather with the three other fragments which refer to these figures, viz. nos. 48, 49, and 53 in Zimmern. All of these were part of rituals for healing the sick. In no. 53 the sick man is to take off his clothes; after which incantations are to be recited before images of (i) Lugal-girra whose equipment is complete, (ii) Lugal-girra who is drawn on the wall, (iii) the four *urigallu* reeds, and (iv) the seven Winged Ones at whose head stands Ishum the great overseer (a position occupied in no. 54 by Nergal). No. 49 is a fragment from the last column of a long tablet; the usual list of figures has probably broken away, for the priest is instructed to place them in front of a cult-installation to Shamash, Ea, and Marduk and offer sacrifices. A male and female statue are also referred to, and the following words are addressed to the demons: 'If thou art a male, this is thy wife; if thou art a female, this is thy husband.' The fragment concludes with an incantation addressed to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. In no. 48 the sacrifices are offered to the statues upon the roof and the 'mouth-opening' ceremony is there performed: the sick man is then laid on a *šahhu* cloth; a scapegoat is

prepared and its (?) head bound with white and red wool (cf. below, text III, p. 84, l. 16, and p. 86, l. 33). The rest of this ritual is lost.

Thus the three texts edited here are the longest now extant concerning these apotropaic figures. The making of the figures and their consecration are now seen to form an elaborate ceremony in themselves, but the figures are ultimately designed for one of two purposes: either to be buried in different parts of a house, and so protect it from the attacks of demons, or to protect a sick man by standing at his head.

It remains now to discuss the figures themselves; and since the identity of the monsters described in *K.A.R.*, 298, reverse is well known, and that of the Seven Gods has been dealt with already by Jean in *R.A.*, 21, 93 ff., and by Professor Langdon in his *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 146-7, this discussion may be confined to the Seven *Apkallê*, or Sages, and the dogs.

The word *abgal* or *apkallu* is by no means uncommon, consequently its use outside the texts in which the statues were mentioned has little value for the purpose of identifying the particular group of *apkallê* in question. The evidence from the relevant texts is as follows:—

(a) The names and cities, *K.A.R.*, 298, 5-10, = *C.T.*, 16, 36. 1-6. The original Sumerian names can all be restored in the latter passage (see text, *infra*, p. 89), and at least two of them are known to have been the names of historical personages.

(i) *Ud-ka-zal-la*. A person named ^d*Ud-ka-zal-an-na* occurs in *C.T.*, 25, 19. 20, in a list of deified heroes explained as the seven *gû-balag-ga* or musicians. The list also includes Bur-Sin, but we need not infer that Ud-kazalanna was a contemporary of this king.

(ii) *Ud-igi-gun-gun*: *igi-gûn-gûn-ge* occurs in *C.T.*, 25, 26. 21, and *C.T.*, 24, 31. 86, has *igi-gûn-gûn-nu* as an explanation of the god 𒀭.𒄩.𒀭.𒀭.𒀭.𒀭.𒀭. In *C.T.*, 24. 3, ^d*Igi-gûn-gûn* is explained as *nu-giṣ-ṣar-gal an-na-ge*, i.e. gardener of Anu, and in *K.A.R.*, 177, rev. 1. 22, this same god is described as *lu nu-giṣ-ṣar* ^d*En-lil*. Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 27, 1. 7, also has 'gardener of Enlil.' Hence this name is clearly that of a historical personage deified in remote antiquity.

Nothing is known of a connexion of either of these individuals with any of the cities mentioned in our text.

- (b) In three of the four groups of clay *apḫallê* the fish-skin worn is familiar as the garb of Ea the water-god, and was worn by his priests : see illustration, Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 85.
- (c) The fragment K. 5119, published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1935, July, contained a ritual using the seven *apḫallê* (see rev. 10 ff.) preceded by a myth in which Enmekar (first king of Eanna, and builder of Erech) and Etana (?) (thirteenth king of the first dynasty of Kish) are designated *abgal*. But Kish and Erech do not occur among the cities mentioned in *K.A.R.*, 298, and we cannot be certain, owing to the smallness of the fragment, that the designation of these heroes as *apḫallê* is not mere coincidence.
- (d) In Zimmern, nos. 53 and 54, the 'Winged Ones' (*šu-ut kap-pi*) are mentioned, and at their head Ishum (in 53) and Nergal (in 54). The only statues with wings are the first group of clay *apḫallê* (*K.A.R.*, 298. 12). This suggests that the *apḫallê* are the same as the *ilāni* who, as Jean showed, are the servants of Nergal in the lower world : this identification was in fact accepted without question by Jean in his article.

An appeal to external sources is justified for corroboration. In the first place there is in general a strong probability that sages whose statues were regarded as so potent a protection against evil spirits were no mean figures in legend, a consideration which tells against their identification with such obscure individuals as (a) suggests, and in favour of (c). Moreover, of the heroes of saga, Adapa is called *abgal* in at least three passages : *C.T.*, 17. 48e, where he occurs with ^dEnkum and ^dNinkum, Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 148, 5+7, and Streck, *Aššurbanipal*, II, 254. 13 and 366. 13. And Enmeduranki of Sippar is called *abgal* in Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 24. 1. We thus have four major heroes of antiquity, Adapa, Etana, Enmekar, and Enmeduranki, designated as *abgal*, two actually in a text which mentions the statues, and it is possible that three more will be found. Against this view, however, is the fact that these heroes do not form a group, and the likelihood of the term *abgal* being applied in any case to such people suggests that these passages have no bearing on the question.

Perhaps the most interesting passage relating to the subject is the familiar story in Berossus of the mythical beings who arose from the sea to reveal mysteries to men during the long antediluvian period ; for a discussion of this see Langdon, *O.E.C.T.*, II, p. 4, and Zimmern, *K.A.T.*, 530-539.¹ As Zimmern pointed out, there is a strong probability that the same tradition lies behind the 'ancient antediluvian *apḫallê*' to whose authority the magical formulae contained in K. 4023 (=Thompson, *Med. Texts*, 105. 21) are ascribed ; also in Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, pp. 90-92, certain myths and epics are ascribed each to the mouth of certain *ummani*, whose names are there given. In *Z.A.*, XXXV, p. 154, Zimmern suggested an identification of these with the seven *apḫallê* of our texts, and there is much in favour of this theory. The Berossus tradition is extremely late and vague, but Zimmern points out (*K.A.T.*, p. 536) that the account of Abydenus suggests that the original number of these mythical beings was actually seven² ; and the dress of three types of the *apḫallê* (see (b) above) agrees perfectly with the description in Berossus. In favour of this contention there are also four other passages :—

- (1) *Z.A.*, 39, 255. 5 mentions the 7 *NUN. GAL* (= *apḫallê*) who praise Subaru, the city in the nether sea.
- (2) K. 8444. 8 mentions the 7 *abgal šu-ut eri-dùg-ga* and their thrones.
- (3) In *A.S.K.T.*, 78. 10 are mentioned 7 sons of the nether sea who consecrate the water used in expiation, sons of Ea and Damkina.
- (4) In Gilgamesh, tablet I, 19 (Thompson's edition, p. 11 and Pl. I) are mentioned 7 *muntalkê*, 'clever ones,' who were occupied in building the temple at Uruk.

The evidence thus points to the following conclusion : The three groups of clay statues wearing fish-cloaks are none other than the legendary monsters of the Deep, sons of Ea and Damkina, and the same as the monsters of Abydenus, Apollodorus, and Berossus. One group, those with wings, have some close connexion with the Seven Gods and Nergal. The group of wooden statues whose names and cities are mentioned seem to represent somewhat obscure historical personages ;

1. Also Hrozný, *M.V.A.G.*, 1903, 5, pp. 94-106.

2. So also Hrozný, *op. cit.* p., 98.

but the forms of the names, all beginning with the word *ud*, 'spirit (?)', suggest that these are not names but titles applied to more important heroes revered in those particular cities: more than this it is impossible to say. A process of syncretism has obviously blurred original distinctions.

A final note on the dogs, described in text I, obv. III, 56—rev. I, 5, and more completely in text II, rev. 17-22, is in place here. The latter passage has already been edited by Meissner, *O.L.Z.*, 1922, 201-2, but more evidence has since then become available. Such dogs have been found *in situ*: five at Nineveh, three at Kish, and six at Sippar, and the close correspondence of some of these with the descriptions will be seen from the notes on text II, rev. 17-22.

The dog was the symbol of Gula-Ninkarrak, goddess of healing and defender of homes (see Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 182), and was associated with her in many ways. In particular, Nebuchadnezzar placed two gold dogs, two silver dogs, and two bronze dogs in the gates of Gula's temple Esabad in Babylon, *V.A.B.*, IV, 164, B. VI, 20-24. Further, at Sippar, Nebuchadnezzar, in digging for the foundations of Eulla, temple of Ninkarrak, found a terra-cotta dog with her name written on it, *V.A.B.*, IV, 110, 38-40 (cited by Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, p. 72); and Scheil actually found a terra-cotta dog at Sippar with an inscription to the goddess Me-me (=Ninkarrak), *ibid.*, p. 90, no. 13. Hence it is clear that a clay dog was buried at each side of the gates of this goddess' temple, as well as in private houses.

I. THE RITUAL FOR THE PURIFICATION OF A HOUSE

Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*n, nos. 45, 50 and 41, + other fragments¹

Transcription.

- Col. I. 1. [u ut]ukku limnu lu alû limnu lu eṭimmu limnu²
 2. [lu] gallu limnu lu ilu limnu lu rabišu limnu
 3. [lu] la-maš-tum lu la-ba-šu lu aḥ-ḥa-zu
 4. [lu] lîlû lu lîlîtu lu ardat lîlî
 5. [lu] kât ili lu kât^{ilat} Istar lu miḫtu
 6. [lu] ^{il}Lugal-ûr-ra lu ^{il}Lugal-utul-pa-è
 7. [lu] ^{il}Nam-tar lu mukil rêš limutti lu mu-tu
 8. [lu] kib-bu lu ḥi-in-tu lu kaṭ-ṭil-lu
 9. [lu] eṭimmi kim-ti lu eṭimmi aḥî(i) lu mim-ma limnu
 10. [ma-l]a bašû(u) lu mim-ma la tâbu šá šuma la nabû(u)
 11. [lu m]utânê lu šag-ga-šû lu šib-tu⁴
 12. [lu . . .] . . . lu ḥi-bîl-tu lu ši-tu
 13. [.] maḥar amêli ilammunu ina bît amêli
 14. [ana limutti izzazzu^{meš} išassû⁵]meš
 15. [up-ta-nar-ra-du up-ta-na-al-la]-ḥu

About fifty more lines to be supplied. Probably Zimmern, no. 46, belongs here, though it cannot yet be joined. It describes sacrifices similar to those at the beginning of col. II, and the making of the seven figures of the *apḫallê* of laurel-wood, partially restored by its duplicate, Zimmern, no. 47, obv. I,⁶ and by *K.A.R.*, 298, (text II), obv. 2-11.

Col. II. 1. mû ellu tasallaḥ GI . DUĜ⁷ tukâ-an niḫê tanak-ki

2. širimittu širḥinšā širšumê tu-ṭaḥ-ḥa

1. For order and position of the tablets and summary of the whole text see above, p. 31, and for copy see Pls. XI-XIV.

2. For a similar list of evil influences cf. *infra*, text III, p. 87, ll. 119 ff., the divergence of the list after line 3 being due to the different purposes of the rituals, here the purification of a house (see l. 13), there the healing of a sick man.

3. For the translation of the names of the demons see Thompson, *Devils*, *passim*.

4. Zimmern read *šip-tu* 'the law-court'; but see Weir, *Lexicon*, p. 345.

5. Restored from rev. II, 38, 39. Zimmern (p. 155 n. 8) rightly suggested that the line ended [GU . D]E^{meš}.

6. If this suggestion is right, Zimmern, no. 47, col. II should be a duplicate of col. II of the present tablet: but the fragmentary lines on Narada at the end of no. 47, col. II, occur here on col. III, ll. 1-5. This shows that the scribe of no. 47 condensed the contents of his tablet into a smaller space; the same may be said of Zimmern, no. 42, of which obv. III = the end of rev. I and the beginning of rev. II

I. THE RITUAL FOR THE PURIFICATION OF A HOUSE

Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, nos. 45, 50 and 41, + other fragments¹

Translation.

- Col. I. 1. Whether it be an evil spirit,³ or an evil demon, or an evil ghost,
 2. [or] an evil devil, or an evil god, or an evil fiend,
 3. [or] a hag-demon, or a ghoul, or a robber-sprite,
 4. [or] the Lilu, or the Lilith, or the Handmaid of the Lilu,
 5. [or] the hand of a god, or the hand of a goddess, or a seizure,
 6. [or] Lugal-urra or Lugal-utul-pa-e,
 7. [or] Namtar, or the supporter of the evil head, or death
 8. [or] fire, or flame, or the 'killer,'
 9. [or] the ghost of the family or the ghost of a stranger or anything evil
 10. [whatsoever]er there be, or anything not good, that has no name,
 11. [or pl]ague, or the murderer, or pestilence,⁴
 12. [or] . . . injury, or destruction,
 13. [. . . which] inflicts harm on a man, or in the man's house
 14. [stands and cries with evil intent,⁵]
 15. [terrorizes, frighte]ns,




About fifty more lines to be supplied. Probaby Zimmern, no. 46, belongs here, though it cannot yet be joined. It describes sacrifices similar to those at the beginning of col. II, and the making of the seven figures of the *apḫallê* of laurel-wood, partially restored by its duplicate, Zimmern, no. 47, obv. I,⁶ and by *K.A.R.*, 298, (text II), obv. 2-11.

Col. II. 1. Thou shalt sprinkle holy water, set up an altar,⁷ offer lambs for sacrifice,

2. bring nigh flesh of the right ham, lard and roasted meat,

of this tablet. Perhaps therefore nos. 47 and 42 are parts of one large duplicate, though they cannot yet be joined. The lines preceding those on Naruda in no. 47, II, partially restore the large lacuna in col. II of this tablet (*v. inf.*).

7. That *viduḡ* = *kan paṭiri*, 'reed of release' (or *kanû paṭiru* 'splitting reed'?), is suggested by Falkenstein, *Uruk*, p. 17, note 6, on the ground that the words *kan si-il-lî* (reed basket) are preceded (*a*) by *kan pa-ti-ri* in Pinches, *Berens*, III, 5, and (*b*) by *viduḡ* in Th.-D., *Rituels*, p. 20, l. 34. But its appearance is given variously

as  and  (Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, 112, 36-7), or as 

(*R.A.*, XVI, 145). The phrases *riksa tar-kas* and *viduḡ tarkas* interchange, Th.-D., *Rit.*, 36, 18 and rev. 5. In these contexts, as here, it is probably a reed altar. Cf. Weir, *Lexicon*, p. 409; also *P.B.S.*, I, 121, rev. II.

TEXT I, Obverse 2.

3. *suluppa šaška tasarra-aḫ*
 4. *miris dišpi ḥemeti tašakka-an*
 5. *niḫnaḫka burāša tašakka-an kurunna tanakki-ma*

 6. *tuš-ken, niḫnaḫka gi-zil-lá egubbā iṣbīna*

 7. *tu-ḥab, ma-ḥar* ¹*Šamaš ki-a-am taḫabbi*
 8. *šiptu :* ¹*Šamaš bēlu rabū-ú daiānu šīru pa-ḫid*

 9. *kiš-šat šamē-e u irši-tim muš-te-šir mīti u balṭi*
 10. *at-ta ešimti (?)* ¹*ilū-ti bīnu kud-du-ši*
 11. *išu el-lu ana bu-un-na-ni-e šalmē*
 12. *ša ina bīt annanni apil annanni ana sa-kap limnūti*^{meš} *ušeza-zu*

 13. *maḥar-ka ak-mis mim-mu-ú ep-pu-šu*
 14. *lu-ú ni-mi-lum-ma liš-lim.*
-
15. *an-na-a taḫabbi-ma ina pāši ḥuraši šaššari kaspi*
 16. *[iṣbi-n]u* ²*talappa-at-ma ina kul-mi-i* ³*tanakki-is*

 17. *[tuš-ken ?].* *sibitti šalmē ilāni sibitti* ⁴*a-gi-e ramāni-šu-nu*

 18. *[ap-ru lu-bu]-uṣ ramāni-šu-nu lab-šu ina kigalli iṣbīni* ⁵

 19. *[tuš-zaz-su-n]u-ti* ⁶*šaršerra ina be-li-šu-nu lab-šu*

 20. *[ina kāti imni-šu-nu] kul-ma* ⁷*siparri* ⁸
 21. *[ina kāti šumēli-šu-nu paṭar sipar]ri* ⁸*na-šu-ú*
 22. *[mi-sir siparri* ⁸*ina kabli-šu-nu r]ak-sa* ⁹
 23. *[e-ri siparri* ⁸*ina kaḫkadē-šu-nu rak-]sa* ⁹

1. Reading *at-ta GĪR.PAD.DU*, after Langdon's suggestion. Zimmern read *at-ta-kis PAD.DU*, translating *PAD.DU* by 'baumstamm,' but this is without support. On *ešimtu* see Langdon, *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, 143-5. By the present interpretation the tamarisk is identified with Shamash, as in Langdon, *P.B.S.*, X, 336, l. 3, it is identified expressly with Anu; moreover in later mythology the sun-god took the place of the sky-god to a great extent. Possibly there is some connexion with the Palmyrene monument, on which see Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, pp. 58-9 and illustration p. 62: on the tamarisk, *ibid.*, p. 98. This is admittedly not entirely satisfactory but I am unable to find any other possible sense for these lines.

2. *Bīnu* for *bīna*: or perhaps restore *[iṣSINI]G*. Zimmern read *[iṣMA.N]U* (= *[er]a*), comparing no. 46. But no. 46 describes the *apḫallē* of *eru* wood, and this

TEXT I, *Obverse* 2.

3. scatter dates and fine meal,
4. set forth a mess of honey and butter,
5. set forth a censer (with) cypress wood, pour a libation of
sesame-wine, and
6. kneel down, purify the censer, the torch, the vessel of holy
water, and the tamarisk,
7. and before Shamash speak thus :—
8. Incantation :—‘ O Shamash, great lord, far-famed judge,
overseer
9. of the whole of heaven and earth, ruler of dead and living,
10. thou art “ the bone of divinity,” ¹ the sacred tamarisk,
11. the holy wood for the forms of statues,
12. which I shall set up in the house of X, son of X, to overthrow
the evil ones.
13. I have knelt down before thee. May all that I have done
14. (prove) profit and succeed.’

-
15. This thou shalt say and with a golden axe (and) a silver saw
 16. thou shalt touch the [tamaris]k (?) and cut it down (?) with
a hatchet.
 17. [Thou shalt kneel down (?)]. Seven statues of the seven
gods,⁴ [crowned with]
 18. their proper headdresses, clad in their proper [garme]nts, on a
platform of tamarisk-wood ⁵
 19. [thou shalt set th]em [up]: (they are) clad in red clay for
their garment,
 20. carrying [in their right hands] a hatchet of bronze,⁸
 21. [in their left hands a dagger of bron]ze,
 22. [bou]nd [about their waists with a girdle of bronze (and)]
 23. [boun]d [about their heads with bands (?) of bronze]
-

wood is used only for that single group, as is shown by *K.A.R.*, 298, and confirmed by obv. II, 37, and III, 5 of this tablet.

3. Zimmern, *zir-mi-i*. But see Holma, *O.L.Z.*, 1922, 246-7.

4. For the 7 gods see *R.A.*, XXI, p. 93 ff, and Langdon, *Sem. Myth.*, pp. 146-7. The following lines are restored from *K.A.R.*, 298, 21-25.

5. Var. *bu-ri*, ‘reed-matting,’ *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 22.

6. Cf. l. 39.

7. Var. *zir-tum*: see note on *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 22.

8. Var. *eri* ‘copper,’ *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 22-3.

9. Var. *rak-su*, *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 23.

TEXT I, Obverse 2.

24. [karnāt siparri¹ šak-nu kašāti iš-pa-a-ti ina idāti-šù-nu tal-l]al (?)²

25. [šipta³ at-tū-nu šalmê ilāni sibitti ilāni rabūti ana mahri-šù-nu taman-nu]

26-36. 7 lines missing, traces in ll. 33-36 (see Pl. XII). Possibly the single statue of tamarisk mentioned in K. 8753, obv. 47 (see rev. II), was described here: cf. text II, obv., 33-37, though the traces do not entirely agree.

37. [sibitti šalmê šu-ut kakkê] šá⁴ iṣbīni⁴

38. [agê⁵ ramāni-šù-nu ap-ru lu-bu]-uṣ ramāni-šù-nu

39. [lab-šu ina kigalli iṣbīni (?)⁶ tušzaz]-su-nu-ti

40. [ina kātê imni-šù-nu iṣ . . ina kātê šumē]li-šù-nu

41. [iṣēra⁷ na-šu-u, mi-sir sipa]rri¹

42. [ina kabli-šù-nu, e-ri siparri ina kaḫkadê]-šù-nu

43. [rak-sa,⁸ karnāt siparri šaknu(nu) azkar⁹ sipar]ri¹

44. [ina kaḫkadê-šù-nu, gaṣša ana be-li-šu-nu lab-šu]

45. [šipta³ at-tū-nu šalmê na-aš kakkê ana mahri-šù-nu taman-nu].

Here about 26 lines are missing. Partially restored by Zimmern, no. 47, obv. II, 1-13.

Col. III. 1. šalam¹⁰ Na-ru-da¹⁰ iṣ[bi-ni šaršerra]

2. ina be-li-e lab-šá-tu¹¹ u-ṣur-ta šá kalī

3. kima hu-ša-an-ni kabla-šá¹² te-ṣir subat¹² parsigā sāma

4. ap-rat tim-bu-ut-tam ina idi šumēli-šá tal-lal¹³

5. šalam ili būti¹⁴ šá iṣbīni teppu-uṣ.

1. Var. *erī* 'copper,' K.A.R., 298, obv. 22-3.

2. Cf. col. III, l. 4.

3. The incantation, but probably not the directions for burial, would be inserted here; cf. col. III, ll. 35-48, and introduction, p. 34.

4. This section is restored from K.A.R., 298, 29-32.

5. Ll. 38-39 = ll. 17b-19a, and are replaced in K.A.R., 298, 29, by *ki-i mah-ri-ma*, 'as before.'

6. See note 5, p. 45.

7. Written *giš* MA.NU., K.A.R., 298, 30. 8.

8. See note 9, p. 45.

TEXT I, *Obverse* 2.

24. [and furnished with bronze horns : thou shalt f]it [bows and quivers at their sides]

25. [(and) recite before them the incantation : ' Ye statues of the seven gods, great gods. ']

26-36. 7 lines missing, traces in ll. 33-36. Possibly the single statue of tamarisk mentioned in K. 8753, obv. 47 (see rev. II), was described here: cf. text II, obv., 33-37, though the traces do not entirely agree.

37. [Seven statues of the weapon-men] of tamarisk-wood

38. [crowned ⁵ with their proper headdresses, clad] in their proper [garm]ents

39. [on a platform of tamarisk (?) thou shalt set] them [up] ;

40. [in their right hands (they are) carrying a . . . , (and) in] their [lef]t [hands]

41. [a laurel stick, bound with a girdle of bro]nze

42. [about their waists and with bands (?) of bronze about] their [heads],

43. [furnished with horns of bronze, clad with crescents of bronz]e

44. [upon their heads and with gypsum for their garments ;]

45. [the incantation ' Ye weapon-bearing statues ' thou shalt recite before them.]

Here about 26 lines are missing. Partially restored by Zimmern, no. 47, obv. II, 1-13.

Col. III. 1. A statue of Naruda ¹⁰ of [tamarisk]-wood, clad in [red clay]

2. for her garment—thou shalt trace a design of *kalû*-clay

3. like a girdle at her waist : she is crowned with a red head-band :

4. thou shalt bind a seal-ring (?) upon her left hand.

5. Thou shalt make a tamarisk statue of the house-god.¹⁴

9. Written *UD . SAR, K.A.R.*, 298, 31.

10. Sister of the seven gods, see rev. II, 43. Ll. 1-4 = *K.A.R.*, 298, 26-27. Var. *na-ru-du*. Another duplicate is Zimmern, no. 47, obv. II, 13-17.

11. Var. *lab-šat*.

12. Var. *ina kabli-ša*.

13. So perhaps read *K.A.R.*, 298, 27 end; cf. above col. II, 24. Here the incantation, as well as the directions for burial, is omitted. Cf. above col. II, 25.

14. L. 5 = *K.A.R.*, 298, 38; cf. rev. I, 38. But *d. Ištar-bīti*, Zim., no. 47, II, 17.

TEXT I, Obverse 3.

6. *kiam šalme an-nu-ti bi-nu-ut šamē-e maḥar* ¹*Šamši taman-nu-ú.*¹

7. *e-nu-ma šalme bi-nu-ut apsī ta-ban-nu-ú*

8. *ina še-rim kima* ¹*Šamšu ašū ana kullati* ²*tallak-ma kullati tušerab-šu-[nu-ti]*

9. *niḫnaḫḫa gizilla egubbā kullata tušerab[-šu-nu-ti]*

10. *sibitti še'i kaspā sibitti še'i ḥurāša* ^{ab}*an* ^{sā}*mta* ^{ab}*an* ^{ḫu}*[lala]*

11. *ana kullati tanad-di-ma riksa ana* ¹*Šamši tar-k[as]*

12. *niḫnaḫḫa buraši tašakka-an kurunna tanak-ki-ma tuš-k[en]*

13. *tazza-az-ma šipta kullatu kullatu* ³*taman-nu*

14. *šiptu. kullatu kullatu kul-lat* ¹*A-nim u* ¹*En-lil*

15. *kullat* ¹*É-a bēl naḫbi* ⁴*kullat ilāni rabūti at-ti-ma*

16. *iš šimti (?)* ⁵*tab-ni-at e-nu-ti šarri tab-ni-at šarrū-ti*

17. *apḫallatu tab-ni-at la-bar ūmē* ⁶*ru-ku-tu*

18. *kaspu-ki nadnukki* ⁷*maḥ-ra-ti*

19. *kīšta-ki maḥ-ra-ti-ma ina še'im šuāti (?) ina ma-ḥar* ¹*Šamši tītu annannu apil annanni*

20. *a-ḫar-ri-iš lu ni-mi-lum-ma mim-mu-u epušu(šū) liš-lim.*

K.A.R., 134, rev. 15-20

(inserted here for comparison).

(15.) [*šiptu*] *kul-la-tum kul-la-tum kul-lat* ¹*É-a mašmaššu*

1. Written *ŠI.TI-nu-ú*. Corresponds to Zimmern, no. 47, II, 18.

2. *KI.GAR* = *kullatu*: see following note. For the significance of this passage see introduction, p. 32.

3. Written *KI.GAR.MIN*, see also line 14. *KI.GAR* is explained by *šikittu ša bitī*, *C.T.*, 19, 43, A. 6+10 (Deimel, *Sum. Lex.*, 461, 300); but the var. *K.A.R.*, 134, rev. 15-16, has *kul-la-tum kul-la-tum*. See below.

TEXT I, *Obverse* 3.

6. Thus: 'These statues are the creation of heaven' before Shamash thou shalt recite.

7. When thou hast made the statues (of) the creatures of the Deep,
8. in the morning at sunrise thou shalt go to the tabernacle² and put them into the tabernacle:
9. the censer, the torch, and the holy-water vessel thou shalt put into the tabernacle;
10. seven grains of silver, seven grains of gold, a carnelian (?), a turquoise (?),
11. thou shalt put into the tabernacle. A cult installation for Shamash prepare.
12. A censer of cypress provide, pour out wine and kneel.
13. Then stand up. The incantation, 'Tabernacle, tabernacle' shalt thou recite.

14. Incantation. 'O tabernacle, tabernacle, tabernacle of Anu and Enlil,
15. tabernacle of Ea, lord of spring(s), tabernacle of the great gods art thou.
16. O "Wood of Fate," creatress of priesthood of the king, creatress of kingship,
17. Wise One, creatress of old age of distant days,
18. thy silver has been given thee, thou hast received (it);
19. thy gift thou hast received, and in this grain before Shamash I, the clay, X son of X,
20. am snipped off. May it (prove) profit: all that I have done, may it prosper.'

K.A.R., 134, rev. 15-20

(inserted here for comparison).

- (15.) [Incantation]. 'O tabernacle, tabernacle of Ea, priest of exorcism,

4. Var. *K.A.R.*, 134, rev. 15, has *maš-maš* for *bél naḫbi* (see below).

5. Written *GIS.NAM*: ideogram here *áπ. λεγ.* Var. *K.A.R.*, 134, rev. 16, *dNin-dingir-ra* (see p. 50 note 1).

6. See p. 50 note 2.

7. Written *SIG-nu-uk-ki*.

TEXT I, Obverse 3.

- (16.) [kul-lat] ilāni kāl-a-ma at-ti-ma ¹at¹nin-dingir-ra¹ tab-ni-at
e-nu-ti
(17.) [šarri] tab-ni-at šar-ru-ti apḫallatu tab-ni-at ba-ru-u²
ru-ḫu-ti
(18.) . . . du-šá-ki³ kul-la-tum kas-pu-ki na-ad-nu-ki
(19.) sibitti še-im^{meš}-ki maḫ-ra-ki i-na še'im šuā[ti ma-]ḫar
¹Šamši
(20.) ti-ti annannu apil annanni ag-ga-ri-iš-ma mim-ma [e-]pu-
šū liš-lim

21. kima an-na-a tamtannu-ú ina maḫar ¹Šamši-i taḫabbi . .

22. šalmē sa-kip limnūti šá ¹Ē-a u ¹Marduk

23. ana nasa-aḫ šēp lemut-tim ina bīt annanni apil [annanni ana?]

24. šu-uz-zu-zi maḫar-ka kullat ramāni-šū-nu a- . . .

25. kima an-na-a taḫ-ta-bu-ú

26. ki-a-am taḫabbi ki-a-[am te-ep-pu-uš (?) . . .]

27-29.

30. salm[ē⁵ sa-kip limnūti šá ¹Ē-a u ¹Marduk]

31. ana nasa-aḫ [šēp lemut-tim ina bīt annanni apil annanni a-na]

32. šu-uz-zu-zi [maḫar-ka kullat ramāni-šū-nu a-]

33. an-na-a taḫabbi-ma [riksa (?) šá]

34. šaknu(nu) tu-ra-kas (?)⁶ ma tuš-ken

35. sibitti šalmē apḫallē⁷ šá ramāni-šū-nu⁸

36. ù pan iššūri šaknu(nu) ina kāti imni-šū-nu [mulila⁹]

37. ina kāti šumēli-šū-nu ba-an-gab-gab-be (?) [na-šu-u]

1. *Nin-dingir-ra* is unknown as a goddess. The var. 'wood of fate' obviously refers to the *kullatu*, and so therefore does *nin-dingir-ra*. The *kullatu* is regarded as a divinity, after the manner of *kinūnu*, 'hearth-fire' (Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies*, 134), and hence called *anin-dingir*, meaning apparently 'divine *ukkur*tu, *entu*, "priestess,"

2. So Ebeling, in his copy and in his edition of the text, *Tod und Leben*, 99. Either the Assyrian scribe has copied the original wrongly, or the reading is [la]-ba-ru *UDmeš*.

TEXT I, *Obverse* 3.

- (16.) [tabernacle] of all the gods art thou. Nin-dingirra,¹
 creatress of priesthood
 (17.) [of the king], creatress of kingship, Wise One, creatress of
 everlasting seers (?)²
 (18.) . . . tabernacle ; thy silver is given thee,
 (19.) thy seven grains thou hast received ; in this grain before
 Shamash
 (20.) I the clay, X son of X, am snipped off : all that I have
 done, may it prosper.'

21. When thou hast recited this, before Shamash thou shalt
 speak [thus ?] :—
 22. (As for) the statues, overthrowers of the evil ones, of (?) Ea
 and Marduk,
 23. to remove the foot of evil, (and) in the house of X son of [X]
 24. to stand,⁴ before thee their own tabernacle I [have set up (?)].

25. When thou hast said this
 26. thus shalt thou speak, thus [shalt thou do (?) . .].
 27-29.
 30. As for the statue[s,⁵ overthrowers of the evil ones, of (?)
 Ea and Marduk]
 31. to remove [the foot of evil, and in the house of X son of X]
 32. to stand,—[before thee their own tabernacle I have . . .]

33. This shalt thou say and [a cult-installation (?) which
 with . . .]
 34. is furnished thou shalt install and kneel down.
 35. Seven statues of the Wise Ones which are . . . their own . . .
 36. and furnished with faces of birds (and) carrying in their
 right hands the 'purifier'
 37. (and) in their left hands the ritual-cup,

3. Ebeling reads [*kud*]-*du-ša-ki*, taking *kullatu* as subject: syntactically impossible, and the address is apparently to the *kullatu*.

4. Or (reading *nasi-il*) 'to set up a remover of the foot of evil in the house of X son of X.' Mr. Gadd suggested this interpretation.

5. It is difficult to account for the repetition of these words here, if the restoration is right. 6. The tablet apparently has the sign *SUHUS*.

7. This section describes the clay statues of the *apkal* as in *K.A.R.*, 298, 12-30.

8. Var. *ša ši* (*K.A.R.*, 298, 12), i.e. without *šù-mu*, but the signs are clear here.

9. Idgr. *IL*[A . *DUB*] as in l. 42. Var. *mu-ti-la*, *K.A.R.*, 298, 12.

TEXT I, Obverse 3.

38. gašša lab-šù u kap-pi iṣṣūrē ina [sir-ki-e-ti]¹

39. is-ḥu teppu-uš. sibitti ṣalmē apḫallē šá [tîṭi]

40. gašša ina be-li-šù-nu lab-šu zumur nûni [šá kubbi]

41. eli-šu-nu tu-uṣ-ša-ár ina kâti [imni-šù-nu]

42. mulila ina kâti ṣumēli-šù-nu ba-[an-gab-gab-bu-u]

43. na-šu-ú, sibitti ṣalmē apḫallē šá tîṭi

44. gašša lab-šù zumur nûni is-ḥu ina kâti [imni-šù-nu]

45. uḫura na-šu-u ina ṣumēli-šù-nu irāti ramāni-[šù-nu tam-ḥu]

46. sibitti ṣalmē apḫallē ša tîṭi teppu-uš zumur nûni is-ḥu [ina
imni-šù-nu ^{kan}urigallē]

47. na-šu-ú ina ṣumēli-šù-nu irāti ramāni-šù-nu [tam-ḥu]

48. (1.) kiam² ṣ[alm]ē^{meš} apḫallē^{meš} [ma-ša-ri ana mahri-šù-nu
taman-nu]³

49. (2.) šina ṣalmē ta(?)-lim(?)^{meš}⁴ gašša lab-šù ù mē [ina kubbi
u-ṣur⁵]

50. (3.) teppu-uš šina ṣalmē bašmi⁶ šina salmē mušḫušši⁷ šina
ṣalmē

51. (4.) šina ṣalmē uridimmî⁸ šina ṣalmē ku-sa-rik-ku⁹ šina
ṣalmē [gîr-tab-lîlî¹⁰]

52. (5.) zikri u sinniṣti šá tîṭi šá kalâ lab-šù šina ṣalmē

53. (6.) šina ṣalmē ^aGalu-lâl¹¹ šá egâ [lab-šù]

54. (7.) šina ṣalmē ^aLa-ta-ra-ak¹² šá tîṭi šá kubba [lab-šu . . .]

1. See Meissner, *Beiträge*, II, p. 56.

2. Here begins K. 7823=Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 50. See Pl. XII. Zimmern in his copy omitted the division-line under the first sign.

3. Restored from K.A.R., 298, obv. 14. Cf. l. 6 above, where the making of the wooden statues is followed by an incantation.

4. Zimmern's copy is inaccurate in this line. For *ta-limmeš* he read *apḫallēmeš*, but there is no group of 2 *apḫallē* in K.A.R., 298, and the twins are required here, as in K.A.R., 298, obv. 43. The traces on the tablet are not quite right for *ta-lim* or *NUN.ME*: see pl. XII.

TEXT I, *Obverse* 3.

38. clad in gypsum and cloaked with birds' wings upon their [shoulders]
39. thou shalt make. Seven statues of the Wise Ones of [clay]
40. clad in gypsum for their garments—fishes' skins [in black wash]
41. thou shalt trace upon them—carrying in [their right] hands
42. the 'purifier' (and) in their left hands the r[itual-cup].
43. Seven statues of the Wise Ones of clay [thou shalt make]
44. clad in gypsum, cloaked in fishes' skins, carrying in [their right] hands
45. the date-spathe and with their left [clasping their] own breasts.
46. Seven statues of the Wise Ones of clay thou shalt make, cloaked in fishes' skins, carrying [in their right hands the *urigallu*-reed]
47. (and) with their left [clasping] their own breasts.
48. (1.) Thus ²: ['(Ye) statue]s of the Wise Ones, [watchmen' thou shalt recite before them.³]

49. (2.) Two statues of the twins (?) ⁴ clad in gypsum and with water [drawn on them in black wash ⁵]
50. (3.) thou shalt make. Two statues of the Viper,⁶ two statues of the Raging Serpent,⁷ two statues of . . .
51. (4.) Two statues of the Gruesome Hound,⁸ two statues of the Fish-ram,⁸ two statues of the [Scorpion-man ¹⁰]
52. (5.) male and female, of clay, clad in *kalû*-clay, two statues of
53. (6.) Two statues of the god 'Honey-man' ¹¹ which are [clad] in green paste
54. (7.) Two statues of the god Lataarak ¹² of clay which are [clad in black paste . . .]

5. See note on *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 6.

6. See *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 1.

7. See *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 3.

8. Does not occur in *K.A.R.*, 298.

9. Phonetic for *kû-dûr*, Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 89 n. 7.

10. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 8.

11. Compare *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 13, and note thereon.

12. Compare *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 14, and note thereon.

TEXT I, Obverse 3.

55. (8.) *šina šalme kulili*¹ *šina šalme suhurmasi* [*tīti* *na-šu-u u gašša*²]
 56. (9.) *lab-šu zumur nūni-is-ḥu te*[*ppuš* *kalbē*³ . . .]
 57. (10.) *teppu-uš šina gašša šina*
 58. (11.) *egā tu-la-[ab-ba-aš*]
 59. (12.) . . . *šina kubba*
 60. (13.) *NE*
 61. (14.) [*šumu ište-en kalbi*] *e* [*tam-ta-lik epuš pî-ka*⁴ . . .]
 62. (15.) [*šum*] *sani-i* [*kalbi e tam-ta-lik u-šuk*⁴ . . .]
 63. (16.) [*su*] *m ište en* [*kalbi a-ru-uh*⁹ *napišta-šu*⁵ . . .]
 64. (17.) *šum šani-i* [*i kalbi da-an ri-gim-šu*⁵ . . .]
 65. (18.) *šum ište-[en kalbi ta-rid asakki*⁶]
 66. (19.) *šum* [*šani-i kalbi ka-šid aia-bi*⁶ . . .]

Reverse.

Col. I. 1. *šum ište-en* [*kalbi sa-kip irat lim-ni*⁷ . . .]

2. *šum šani-i* [*kalbi mu-na-ši-ku ga-ri-šu*⁷ . . .]
 3. *šum iste-en kalbi* [*mu-še-ri-bu damiḫti*⁸ . . .]
 4. *šum šani-i* [*kalbi mu-še-šu-u limnūti*⁸ . . .]
 5. *kima (kiam ?)*¹⁰ *an-na-a* [*teppušu* (?)]
 6. *šalmē šā iše ù šā tīti* [*ma-la te-pu-šu* (?)¹¹]
 7. *ina mūši ina kišad nāri telik-ḫi*
 8. *pāni-šu-nu ana šit*¹¹ *Samši tašakka-an DU* . . .

1. Compare *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 6.

2. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 4.

3. Here begins the description of the dogs, corresponding to *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 17 ff. See notes thereon and introduction, p. 41, for references to the dogs found in excavations, many of which correspond to those given in these texts.

4. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 17, *q.v.* for notes.

5. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 18, *q.v.* for notes.

TEXT I, *Obverse* 3.

55. (8.) Two statues of the Fish-man¹; two statues of the Fish-goat, [of clay, which carry . . . and in gypsum²]
 56. (9.) are clad and are cloaked in fishes' skins, shalt thou m[ake. Dogs³ . . .]
 57. (10.) . . . shalt thou make: two in gypsum, two in
 58. (11.) in green paste shalt thou clo[the]
 59. (12.) . . . two in black paste
 60. (13.)
 61. (14.) [The name of one dog (is):] 'Don't [think, open your mouth.'⁴ . . .]
 62. (15.) [the name] of the second dog (is): ['Don't think, bite.'⁴ . . .]
 63. (16.) [The na]me of one [dog (is): 'Consume⁹ his soul,'⁵ . . .]
 64. (17.) The name of the second [dog (is): 'Strong is his bark.'⁵ . . .]
 65. (18.) The name of one [dog (is): 'Driver away of the *asakku*-demon,'⁶ . . .]
 66. (19.) the name of [the second dog (is): 'Conqueror of the enemy.'⁶ . . .]

Reverse.

- Col. I. 1. The name of one [dog (is): 'Overthrower of the breast of the evil one.'⁷ . . .]
 2. the name of the second [dog (is): 'Biter of his foe.'⁷]
 3. The name of one dog (is): ['He who brings in goodness.'⁸ . . .]
 4. The name of the second [dog (is): 'He who expels evil.'⁸ . . .]
 5. When¹⁰ [thou hast made] these (?)
 6. The statues of wood and of clay [as many as thou hast made¹¹]
 7. thou shalt take by night to the river bank
 8. direct their faces towards the sunrise

6. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 19, *q.v.* for notes.

7. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 20, *q.v.* for notes.

8. Restored by *K.A.R.*, 298, rev. 21, *q.v.* for notes.

9. For *arāhu* 'consume' see Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 134 n. 7.

10. Perhaps *kiam* 'thus,' followed by an incantation, as in obv. III, 6 and 48.

11. Restoration suggested by Zimmern.

TEXT I, Reverse 1.

9. kima ¹¹Šamaš ašī maḥar ¹¹Šamaš ḫaḫkara tašabbīṭ [mā ellu
tasallaḫ]
10. ana ¹¹Ē-a ¹¹Šamaš u ¹¹Marduk [3 GI . DUĜ tukâ-an]
11. 3 niḫê tanak-ki ^{šir}im[ittu ^{šir}hinša (?)]
12. [^{šir}]šumê tu-tāḫ-ḫa suluppa š[aška tasarra-aḫ]
13. [m]iris dišpi ḫemeti tašakka-an ^{karpat}[adagura tukâ-an]

14. [niḫna]kka buraša tašakka-an kurunna [tanak-ki]
15. [šalm]ê šu-nu-ti egubbā niḫnakka [gizillā tuš-ba-'-šū-nu-ti]

Here ends K. 7823, rev. I=(Zimmern, no. 50). K. 8788

33. (1.)
34. (2.) ana bīti telik-ki
35. (3.) ina elī burê tušēšab-šū-[nu-ti pani-šū-nu ¹]
36. (4.) ana šit ¹¹Šamši ² tašakka-an egubbā [niḫnakka gizillā]

37. (5.) tuš-ba-šū-nu-ti kima ¹¹Šamši eribi bīta [tu-ḫab ?] ³
38. (6.) riksa ana ¹¹Marduk tar-kas niḫ[ê tanak-ki]
39. (7.) ^{šir}imittu ^{šir}hinša ^{šir}šumê t[u-tāḫ-ḫi-šū]
40. (8.) suluppa šaška ta[sarra-aḫ]
41. (9.) miris dišpi ḫemeti [tašakka-an]
42. (10.) ^{karpat}adagura tukâ-an šikara karana d[išpa šizba šamna]

43. (11.) tanak-ki ana ¹¹A-nim ¹¹Enlil ¹¹Ē-a ili b[īti ?]
44. (12.) 4 GI . DUĜ takâ-an 4 niḫê tanak-ki riksa [tapattar]

45. (13.) ana ¹¹Kù-sud ¹¹Nin-A-ĤA-KUD-DU ⁴2 GI . DUĜ tukâ-an

46. (14.) 2 niḫê tanak-ki riksa šu-bi-áš-a-an
47. (15.) ana ili bīti ^{11at}Ištar bīti u šēdi bīti 3 GI . DUĜ tukâ-an

1. Restored from l. 8 above.

2. Cf. l. 63 below.

3. The ritual proper begins as usual at sunset. Cf. C.T., XVI, 35, 30 (*infra* text III, p. 86).

4. The correct reading of this name is still in dispute. A-ĤA is almost certainly

TEXT I, *Reverse* 1.

9. As soon as the sun rises, thou shalt sweep the ground before Shamash (and) [sprinkle holy water,]
10. [erect three altars] for Ea, Shamash and Marduk,
11. sacrifice three lambs, bring nigh flesh of the ri[ght ham, lard (?)]
12. (and) roast meat, [scatter] dates and [fine meal],
13. set forth a mess of honey and butter, [place ready an *adagur*] vessel,
14. set forth a censer (with) cypress wood, (and) pour a libation of sesame-wine.
15. To those [statue]s the holy water vessel, the censer and [the torch thou shalt bring,]

(=Zimmern, no. 41) continues after a lacuna of about 18 lines.

33. (1.)
34. (2.) thou shalt take to the house,
35. (3.) set them on a mat of reeds, direct [their faces]
36. (4.) towards the sunrise,³ (and) bring to them the holy water vessel [censer and torch].
37. (5.) As soon as the sun sets, thou shalt [purify ?] the house,
38. (6.) prepare a cult installation for Marduk, [sacrifice] lambs,
39. (7.) [bring thither] flesh of the right ham, lard and roast meat,
40. (8.) sc[atter] dates and fine meal
41. (9.) [set forth] a mess of honey and butter,
42. (10.) place ready an *adagur* vessel, pour libations of beer, wine, h[oney, milk, oil ;]
43. (11.) for Anu, Enlil, Ea (and) the god [of the house (?)]
44. (12.) erect 4 altars, sacrifice 4 lambs, (and) [clear away] the cult-implements.

-
45. (13.) For Kusud and Nin-A- $\overline{\text{H}}$ A-KUD-DU⁴ thou shalt erect 2 altars,
 46. (14.) sacrifice 2 lambs, cult-installation as before.
 47. (15.) For the god of the house, the goddess of the house, and the genius of the house thou shalt erect 3 altars,
-

to be read *ḥabur* (the river of the underworld): see Langdon, *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, p. 845 n. 1, and *Nin-a-bu-ši-lé-du*, *P.B.S.*, I², no. 123, 7, from which it appears that the name is *Nin-ḥabur-sil-du* 'The queen that walks the street of Ḥabur (here=*Subaru*).'
But in favour of a reading *-kud-du* is *K.A.R.*, 42, rev. 4, *KUD(ud)-du*.

TEXT I, Reverse 1.

48. (16.) 3 *niḱê tanak-ki riksa šu-bi-áš-a-an*
 49. (17.) *kima riksu NU¹u iddā gašša IĀ . KUR . RA*
50. (18.) *dišpa hemeta² šamna t̃aba šaman p̃uri egubbā 7 niḱnakḱê*
51. (19.) 7 *gizillê tubḱāti bītāti sippê*
52. (20.) *tarbaša urā ruk-bi-e-ti apāti tultappat*
53. (21.) *kima tu[l]-tap-pi-tū 7 mašhuldubbê*
 54. (22.) 7 *mašgizillê 7 LU . TI . LA*
 55. (23.) 7 *kurkizanê³ 7 uru^dnikalaggê-e⁴*
 56. (24.) 7 *sugugallê TER . KA liliš siparri*
 57. (25.) *šubātu sammu ḱinazu karpat⁵silgazê-meš⁶ arsuppu*
 58. (26.) *šegušu šennu kibtu kunašu*
 59. (27.) *halluru pulilu kiššenu⁵ zidubdubbê-e⁶*
 60. (28.) *bīta tu-kap-par-ma tak-pi-rat bīti a-na bābi*
61. (29.) [*tutte*]ru-ub⁷-šā tatār-ma šiptu AB . . .
62. (30.) . . . -an nu-tu-tu-dé taman-nu
 63. (31.) kil-la-ma šit⁴Šamši
 64. (32.) karpat⁵silgazê-e
 65. (33.) ŠE . BIR . BIR . RI . DA zidubdubbê-e⁹

Col. II. The ends of the first 13 lines are preserved on K. 7823 (Zimm., no. 50, rev. II), and the last 26 lines on K. 8788+K. 3189 (together=Zimm., no. 41, rev. II)+K. 2987b (not in Zimmern)+K. 6068 (Zimm., no. 45, rev. II). Remainder restored from the duplicate K. 8753 (Zimm., no. 42) without brackets.

1. (34.) . . . -a-an tanad-di-ma
 2. (35.) bīta tu-ḱab

1. Zimmern read *kima riksu ilāni ḱatā-u*, i.e. AN . MEŠ . BE . U, though he had seen not BE but NU. NU is in fact clear on the tablet, but the previous sign is certainly not MEŠ—see copy, nor is MEŠ right in Zimmern no. 42, l. 1. The text is hopeless, as the join of K. 7014 to K. 3189 cuts through the line.

2. Here begins the duplicate K. 8753, obv. 3 (=Zimm., no. 42), l. 2 (for l. 1 see previous note). Restorations from this are not bracketed.

3. Zimmern read 7 GIŠIMMAR . TUR^{pl}, but the tablet has clearly ŠAH, not GIŠIMMAR, which Z. proposed also (wrongly) to substitute for ŠAH in IV,

TEXT I, *Reverse* 1.

48. (16.) sacrifice 3 lambs, cult-installation as before.
 49. (17.) As soon as the cult-installation¹ with bitumen,
 gypsum, mountain-oil
 50. (18.) honey, butter, fine oil, oil of the pot, the holy water
 vessel, seven censers,
 51. (19.) (and) seven torches, the corners (of?) the rooms, the
 gateway-wings,
 52. (20.) the court, the roof, the beams, and the windows (?) thou
 shalt touch.
 53. (21.) When thou hast touched them, with 7 scapegoats
 54. (22.) 7 'goats of the torch,' 7 'sheep of life,'
 55. (23.) 7 little pigs, 7 copper bells,⁴
 56. (24.) 7 'hides of great bulls,', a bronze tambourine,
 57. (25.) a red cloth, a whip, *silgazu*-vessels, *arsuppu*-grain,
 58. (26.) *šegušu*-grain, grain in the straw, wheat, emmer,
 59. (27.) beans, fenugreek, bitter vetch,⁵ (and) heaps of meal (?)
 60. (28.) thou shalt purify the house, and the purifying material
 of the house unto the gate
 61. (29.) [thou shalt brin]g; thou shalt return and recite the
 incantation: ' . . .
 62. (30.) are not born (?)'.
 63. (31.) sunrise⁸
 64. (32.) *silgazu*-vessels,
 65. (33.) scattered grain (?), heaps of meal (?)

Col. II. The ends of the first 13 lines are preserved on K. 7823 (Zimm., no. 50, rev. II), and the last 26 lines on K. 8788+K. 3189 (together=Zimm., no. 41, rev. II)+K. 2987b (not in Zimmern)+K. 6068 (Zimm., no. 45, rev. II). Remainder restored from the duplicate K. 8753 (Zimm., no. 42) without brackets.

1. (34.) thou shalt cast
 2. (35.) purify the house

Raw., 55, 22b and 56, 26a. 4. Cf. *C.T.*, XVI, 35, 14 (text III, *inf.*, p. 85).
 5. *kiššenu*, Syr. *kūšnā* after Thompson, *Herbal* 278; *C.T.*, 14, 32, K. 4588, 4. Idgr. *TIG. ŠA. HAR. RA.*
 6. Thureau-Dangin suggested *siltā* 'flour' for *Zī. DUB. DUB. R.A.*, III, 139. But definite numbers are used with it, e.g. *Morgan Collection*, IV, 6, 45, Zimm., *Rt.*, p. 120, ll. 7, 10. The word means a kind of meal in *R.A.*, III, 135, 20, etc. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵
 7. [Read *TU-ub. S. L.*] 8. Is this line perhaps related to l. 36 as l. 9 to l. 8?
 9. Here ends col. I, rev. on K. 3189.

TEXT I, Reverse 2.

3. (36.) [. maḥar ¹Lugal-gīr]-ra taman-nu

4. (37.) ṣalmê šu-nu-ti

5. (38.) [egubbā niḫnaḫ]ka (39.) [gizillā tuš]-ba'-šū-nu-ti

6. (40.) [ana ṣalam ^{isbīni}ša ište-en am]mat la-an-šū ¹

7. (40.) [ù ana] ¹Lugal-gīr-ra (41.) [ù ¹Mes-]lam-ta-è-a

8. (41.) [2 G]I . DUĜ tukâ-an (42.) niḫê tanaḫ-ki

9. (42.) [^{šir}im]itta ^{šir}hinša (43.) [^{šir}šumê] tu-tāḫ-ḫi-šū-nu-ti

10. (43.) suluppa šaška tasarr-aḫ

11. (44.) [miri]s dišpi ḫemeti tašakka-an

12. (45.) [^{karpa} adagura tukâ-an] šikara karana dišpa šizba šamna

13. (46.) [. . . ^{karpa}la-ḫa-an tanaḫ-ki-šū-nu-ti

(47.) [šipāti (?) ana maḥri-šu]-nu taman-nu, ana maḥar ṣalam ^{isbīni} ²
kiām taman-nu

(48.) [šiptu. at-ta ṣalmu sa-kip] limni u aia-bi ³

(49.) [.] . . . git-ma-lu šá ina ilāni gaš-ru

(50.) [. melamme šī]rūti ra-mu-ú

(51.) [. maḥar ¹Ē-a abi-ka tazza-az

(52.) [.]-bi la te-ig-gi

(53.) [lu kāt eṭimmi . .]-ma lu mim-ma limnu

(54.) [. up-]ta-na-al-la-ḫa-an-ni

(55.) [. a-n]a ia-a-ši u bīti-ia

(56.) [.] aḫ isniḫ aḫ ik-šu-dan-ni

(57.) [. kima] kuṭ-ri li-tel-li šamê-e

(58.) [. ana a]šri-šu aḫ i-tur.

(59.) [. . . ana maḥar] ṣalam ^{isbīni}

(60.) [ša ? šak (?)]-nu tamtannu-ú

1. Restored from K.A.R., 298, obv. 33; this statue is mentioned in l. (47), and an incantation is recited before it, as before the twins in the section following. It is natural that the sacrifices should be offered to the twins and to the tamarisk

TEXT I, *Reverse* 2.

3. (36.) [. before Lugal-gir]ra thou shalt recite.
-
4. (37.) those statues ;
5. (38.) [the holy water vessel, cense]r, (39.) and torch thou shalt bring up to them.
6. (40.) [To the statue of tamarisk-wood], the stature of which [is one cu]bit,¹
7. (40.) [and to] Lugal-girra (41.) [and Mes]lamta-ea,
8. (41.) thou shalt erect [2] reed altars, (42.) sacrifice lambs,
9. (42.) bring near to them [flesh of the r]ight ham, lard (43.) [and roast meat],
10. (43.) scatter dates and fine meal,
11. (44.) set forth [a mes]s of honey and butter,
12. (45.) [place ready an *adagur*-vessel,] (and a libation) of beer, wine, honey, milk and oil
13. (46.) [. . from a *l]aban* vessel thou shalt pour out to them :
- (47.) [incantation(s ?)] thou shalt recite [before them]. Before the statue of tamarisk-wood thus shalt thou recite :—
- (48.) [Incantation : ‘Thou statue, overthrower of] the evil one and the enemy,
- (49.) perfect one, who is mighty among the gods,
- (50.) dwelling in glorious [brilliance],
- (51.) [. . . . before] Ea thy father thou shalt stand,
- (52.) shalt not grow weary ;
- (53.) [be it hand of ghost . .], be it anything evil,
- (54.) that has frightened me,
- (55.) to me and my house,
- (56.) may it not come nigh nor reach me !
- (57.) [. like] smoke may it ascend unto heaven,
- (58.) [. to] its place may it not return ! ’
-
- (59.) [When ?] thou hast recited [this before] the figure of tamarisk-wood,
- (60.) [which is se]t (?)
-

statue together, since the sacrifices, unlike the incantations, are the same for both.

2. For this statue see *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 33, and previous note.

3. *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. 37, has the first line only of this incantation.

TEXT I, Reverse 2.

*(1.) [ana maḥar ṣalmê ¹¹Lugal-gir-ra ¹¹Meš]-lam-ta-è-a¹ kiām taman-nu

(2.) [šiptu ¹¹Lugal-gir-ra ¹¹Meš-lam-t]a-è-a ilu maši ilāni ki-lal-la-an

30. (3.) [. aplê] ¹¹a-nim gaš-ru-ti²

31. (3.) šá šamê-e ellûti (4.) meš

32. (4.) ina irši-tim rapaš-tim ramu-u parakkê^{meš}

33. (5.) da-i-ku limnûti^{meš}

34. (5.) ka-ši-du [¹¹Na]m-tar³ (6.) k[a-ši-]du ¹¹Nam-tar

35. (6.) li-ku-u par-šu irši-tim rapaš-tim

36. (7.) [. ¹¹A-]nun-na-ki at-tu-nu-ma

37. (7.) áš-šum mim-ma limnu (8.) šá ina bît annanni apil annanni

38. (8.) ana limutti izzazzu^{meš}-ma išassû^{meš}

39. (9.) up-ta-nar-ra-du up-ta-na-al-la-ḥu

40. (9.) ú-šam-ra-šu (10.) i-duk-ku i-ḥab-bi-lu

41. (10.) ú-šat-ba-lu ú-še-šu-u (11.) ana na-saḥ bît annanni apil annanni

42. (11.) ina bábi imna u šumēla ušeziz-ku-nu-ši

43. (12.) mim-ma lim-nu mim-ma la tábu šar béri

44. (12.) li-is-sa-a ma-ḥar-[ku-u]n.

45. ana maḥar sibitti ṣalmê ilāni sibitti sibitti ṣalmê šu-ut paṭrāti⁵

46. u kul-ma-a-ti ina kāti-šû-nu na-šu-u

47. ù šalam ¹¹at-na-ru-dí⁵ nu

48. . . ta-kaš-li mîr-ṭa ta-mar-raṭ⁵ meš

49. kan⁴ HUS^{meš}

50. e- zi(?)-pir-ra

51. sa-pi-[in]

52. da-iā-[nu]

53. aššum(MU) limni

54. zi-

55. is-

Col. III. Only fragment of colophon.⁶ See Zimmern,

* Here begins rev. col. I on K. 8753 (Zimmern, no. 42).

1. For the making of the statues of the twins see above, obv. III, 49.

2. Here begins K. 8788, rev. II (Zimmern, no. 41). The line is numbered 30 on the assumption that the previous lines would have coincided with K. 8753.

3. Here begins K. 2987b. Var. a-a-bi, K. 8753, rev. I, 5.

4. Here begins K. 6068 (Zimmern, no. 45), rev. II.

TEXT I, *Reverse 2.*

28. [Before the statues of Lugal-girra and Mes]lamta-ea thus shalt thou
recite :—
29. [Incantation : ‘ O Lugal-girra and Meslamta]-ea, ye twin gods, ye
two gods,
30. mighty [sons of] Anu,
31. who in the bright heavens ,
32. who in the wide earth dwell in shrines,
33. slayers of the evil ones,
34. conquerors of [Na]mtar (?), conquerors of Namtar,
35. recipient of the decrees of the wide earth,
36. of (?) the Anunnaki are ye.
37. On account of all things evil, which in the house of X son of X
38. stand and cry with evil intent,
39. terrorize, frighten,
40. cause illness, slay, afflict,
41. cause to be removed or to go out, to expel them from the house of
X son of X
42. in the gate, right and left, I have set you up.
43. Let anything evil, anything not good, 3600 double-hour marches
44. be distant from you.
-
45. Before the seven statues of the Seven Gods, the seven statues which
carry daggers]
46. and hatchets in their hands,
47. and the statue of Narudu
48.
49.
50.
51. Vanquisher of
52. Judge
53. On account of the evil
54. 55.
-

Rt., p. 156. Date 750 B.C., reign of Aššur-nirari.

5. Restored conjecturally from K. 8753; but the lines do not seem to correspond here, and further restoration is impossible.

6. The text would have continued with further incantations before the statues, as is clear from the remaining 20 lines of Zimmern no. 42; *e.g.* the Weapon Men are clearly mentioned in l. 37.

II. K.A.R., 298. THE VARIOUS TYPES OF STATUE

Compare the translation and commentary by Mr. Sidney Smith, with an account of figures found at Ur by Mr. Woolley, *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, 689 ff.

Transcription.

(1) *šiptu* [. . . *m*]eš? ù . . . *limnu ina bīt amēli la* [*teḫi*]

(2) *epušta-šu. sibitti šalmē apḫallē*¹ *ša iṣēri agē ramāni-šu-nu ap-ru lu-bu-uš ramāni-šu-nu lab-šu* (3) *ina imni-šu-nu iṣēra ša ina appi u iṣḏi iṣāta kab-bu na-šu-u ina šumēli-šu-nu irāti-šu-nu tam-ḫu* (4) *šum-šu-nu ina naglābi šumēli-šu-nu tašatta-ár. ištēn(en) šalmu šarserra ana be-li-šu la-biṣ* (5) *ú-mu balāti i-lit-ti Ú-ri*² *ana muḫḫi tašatta-ár, šānū(ú) gašša la-biṣ* (6) *ú-mu ḫegalli mār Nippūri ṭābu ana muḫḫi tašattar, šalšu(šu) gašša la-biṣ u mē ina kubbi*³ *ú-šur* (7) *ú-mu ta-šil-ti šá ina Eridi ir-bu-u ana muḫḫi tašattar, rebu(ú) kubba la-biṣ ú-mu dam-ku šá ina Kul-lab*⁴ *šu-pu-u ana muḫḫi tašattar, (8) ḫanšu(šu) kalá la-biṣ ú-mu šá ba*⁵ *ni ba-nu-u tar-bit Ki-si ana muḫḫi tašattar, šiššu(šu) egá la-biṣ* (9) *ú-mu i-šá-ru daiāna šīru šá La-gaš ana muḫḫi tašattar, sibū(ú) kalgugga la-biṣ* (10) *ú-mu ša šá šaḫ-ši ba-la-tu i-nam-di-nu šu-lul Šu-ru-pa-ak ana muḫḫi tašattar, (11) ina rêš irši te-te-mir, šipta sibitti apḫallē a-šá-rid-du-tū ana maḫri-šu-nu taman-nu.*

(12)⁶ *sibitti šalmē apḫallē*⁶ *ša tīti pān iṣṣūri kappē šaknu(nu) ina kâtê*⁷ *imni-šu-nu mu-li-la*⁸ *ina kâtê*⁷ *šumēli-šu-nu* (13) *iṣba-an-gab-gab-ú*⁹ *na-šu-u, gašša lab-šu kappē*¹⁰ *iṣṣūri ina sir-ḫi-e-ti*¹¹ *is-ḫu*¹² (14) *ina iṣid bīti šanī(e) ina rêš iṣirši te-te-mir, šipta at-tū-nu šalmē apḫallē ma-ša-ri ana maḫri-šu-nu taman-nu.*

1. Ll. 2-3=Zimmern, *Rt.*, 46, ll. 15 ff., a fragment which probably belongs to text I, obv., col. I: see notes *ad loc.*

2. For the names of the *apḫallē* cf. *C.T.*, XVI, 36, 1-7 (*infra*, p. 88).

3. *IM . GIG=kubbu*, written *ku-ub-ub*, from an unpublished Kish syllabary in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a duplicate of V R., 42, no. 2, rev. 3. These words indicate the wavy black lines (probably representing water) such as are to be seen on certain figures found at Ur; see *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 709 n. 7, and p. 694, no. 3.

4. Var *kul-la-bi*, *C.T.*, 16, 36. 2.

II. *K.A.R.*, 298. THE VARIOUS TYPES OF STATUE

Compare the translation and commentary by Mr Sidney Smith, with an account of figures found at Ur by Mr. Woolley, *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, 689 ff.

Translation.

(1) Incantation : that the . . . and the evil . . . may not enter a man's house.

(2) Ritual :—seven statues of the Wise Ones,¹ of laurel(?)—wood, crowned with their proper headdresses and clad in their proper garments, (3) carrying with their right hands (wands of) laurel, burnt with fire at the top and bottom, and with their left hands clasping their breasts,—(4) thou shalt write their names on their left hip. The first statue, clad in red clay as its garment, (5) 'Spirit of life, offspring of Ur' thou shalt write thereon ; the second, clad in gypsum (6) 'Spirit of plenty, son of Nippur, the good' thou shalt write thereon ; the third, clad in gypsum, and with water drawn on it in black wash,³ (7) 'Spirit of gladness, that grew great in Eridu' thou shalt write thereon ; the fourth, clad in black paste, 'Gracious Spirit, that was created in Kullab' thou shalt write thereon ; (8) the fifth, clad in *kalû*-paste, 'Spirit fair of face, child of Kēsh' thou shalt write thereon ; the sixth, clad in green paste, (9) 'Just Spirit, far-famed judge of Lagash' thou shalt write thereon ; the seventh, clad in *kalguggu*-paste, (10) 'Spirit that giveth life to them that are slain, shade of Shuruppak' thou shalt write thereon. (11) Bury (them) at the head of the bed : recite before them the incantation : 'Ye seven pre-eminent Wise Ones.'

(12) Seven clay statues of the Wise Ones, furnished with faces of birds and wings, carrying in their right hands a 'purifier,' and in their left (13) a ritual-cup, clad in gypsum, cloaked with wings of birds upon their shoulders, (14) bury in the foundation of the house or at the head of the bed, recite before them the incantation : 'Ye statues of Wise Ones, watchmen.'

5. Var. *pa-ni* (rightly), *C.T.*, 16, 36.3.

6. Ll. 12-13 = text I, col. III, 35-38.

7. Var. *SU . MEŠ*.

8. Var. *ILA . DUB*.

9. Var. *ba-an-gab-gab-be* (?).

10. Written *PA . MEŠ*. Var. *kap-pi iššūrē*.

11. Cf. Meissner, *Beiträge*, II, p. 56.

12. Var. + *teppuš(uš)*, and without l. 14.

TEXT II, Obverse.

- (15) *sibitti šalmê apkallê*¹ *ša tîti gašša*² *lab-šu zumur nûni ša kubbi*³ *tu-sar*
*ina kâtê imni-šu-nu mulila*⁴ *ina kâtê šumêli-šu-nu bangabgabbû našû*⁵
 (16) *ina askuppi kummi te-te-mir šipat-su-nu šu-bi-áš-a-an.*

(17) *sibitti šalmê apkallê*⁶ *ša tîti gašša lab-[šu]* *zumur nûni is-šu* *ina*⁷
imni-šu-nu i^{is}u^ukura *ina šumêli-šu-nu* (18) *irātê-šu-nu*⁸ *tam-šu* *ina*
tar-ši bābi ina arki kussî te-te-mir šipta šu-bi-áš-a-an.

(19) *sibitti šalmê apkallê*⁹ *ša tîti gašša lab-šu zumur nûni is-šu* *ina imni-*
šu-nu kanurigalla na-šu-ú (20) *ina šumêli-šu-nu irātê-šu-nu*⁸ *tam-šu* *ina*
qabal bîti ina pāna-at kussî te-te-mir, šipta šu-bi-áš-a-an.

(21) *sibitti šalmê ilāni sibitti*¹⁰ *ša i^{is}bi-ni agê*¹¹ *ramani-šu-nu ap-ru lu-bu-*
uš ramāni-šu-nu lab-šu (22) *ina kigallî bu-ri*¹² *šuzzuz-zu*¹³ *šaršerra*
*lab-šu*² *ina kâtê imni-šu-nu zir-tum*¹⁴ (?) *erî*²¹ (23) *ina kâtê šumêli-šu-nu*
*paṭar erî*²¹ *na-šu-u mi-sir erî* *ina qabli-šu-nu rak-su*¹⁹ *e-ri erî* *ina qakkadi-*
[šu-nu rak-s]^u¹⁹ (24) *qarnāt erî šak-nu qašāti i^{is}-pa-a-ti* *ina idê-šu-nu*
*[tal ?-lal ?]*¹⁵ (25) *ina pāna-at šalam i^{is}bi-ni te-te-mir, šipta at-tu-nu*
šalmê ilāni sibitti ilāni rabūti ana mahri-šu-nu taman-nu.

(26) *ištēn(en)*¹⁶ *šalam i^{il}a^tNa-ru-du*¹⁷ *ša i^{is}bi-ni šaršerra*¹⁸ *lab-šat ú-šur-*
tam šá kalî (27) *kima hu-ša-an-ni ina qabli-šá te-šir parsigā sāma ap-rat*
*tim-bu-tam*²² *ina idi šumêli-šá [tal-lal*²⁰ ?] (28) *ina bābi kamî itti šalmê*
ilāni sibitti ina pāna-at šalam i^{is}bi-ni te-te-mir šipta šu-bi-[áš-a-an].

-
1. L. 15=text I, obv. III (K. 6068), 39-43.
 2. Var. + *ina be-li-šu-nu.*
 3. Var. *eli-šu-nu tu-uš-ša-ár.*
 4. Var. *ILA . DUB.*
 5. Written *KI . MA* (for ditto).
 6. Ll. 17-18(*tam-šu*)=text I, obv. III, 43-45.
 7. Var. (l. 44) : *ina kâtê [imni-šu-nu].*
 8. Var. *irātê ramāni-[šu-nu].*
 9. Ll. 19-20(*tam-šu*)=text I, obv. III, 45-47.
 10. Ll. 21-24=text I, obv. II, 17-24.
 11. Var. *a-gi-e.*
 12. Var. *bîni* (tamarisk).

TEXT II, *Obverse*.

(15) Seven clay statues of the Wise Ones,¹ clad in gypsum,—trace (upon them) fishes' skins in black wash—carrying in their right hands the 'purifier' and in their left the ritual cup, (16) bury at the threshold of the ritual-chamber : their incantation as before.

(17) Seven clay statues of the Wise Ones⁶ cla[d] in gypsum, cloaked in fishes' skins, in their right hands (carrying) the date-spathe, with their left (18) clasping their breasts, bury opposite the gate behind the chair ; incantation as before.

(19) Seven clay statues of the Wise Ones,⁹ clad in gypsum, cloaked in fishes' skins, carrying in their right hands the *urigallu*-reed, (20) with their left hands clasping their breasts, bury in the middle of the house in front of the chair ; incantation as before.

(21) Seven statues of the seven gods,¹⁰ of tamarisk-wood, crowned with their proper head-dresses and clad in their proper garments, (22) standing on a platform of reed-matting,¹² clad in red clay, carrying in their right hands a *zirtum* (?) ¹⁴ of copper,²¹ (23) and in their left a dagger of copper,²¹ bound about their waists with a girdle of copper and with bands (?) of copper encircling their heads, (24) (and) furnished with copper horns, [fix ?] bows and quivers at their sides, (25) bury opposite the tamarisk statue, recite before them the incantation 'Ye statues of the seven gods, great gods.'

(26) One statue of Narudu,¹⁶ of tamarisk-wood, clad in red clay,—trace a line of *kalû*-clay (27) like a girdle at her waist,—crowned with a red head-band—[bind] a seal-ring upon her left hand,—(28) bury in the *kamû*-gate with the statues of the seven gods, in front of the statue of tamarisk-wood. Incantation as before.

13. *DA . DU . zu*, *DA* presumably a mistake for *DU*. Var. [*tušaz-su-n*]u-ti.

14. Var. *kul-ma*. A *zirtum* is known to be a part of a bow from *R.A.*, XVIII, 70. 29 (probably to be read : *zi-ir-ti eri iškāsti*). No weapon *kul-tum* is known.

15. Var. l. 24 : . . -*lal*, and *tal-lal*, *ibid.* obv. III, 4, a similar passage ; the present text seems to have *tukân(an)*.

16. Ll. 26, 27 = text I, obv. III (K. 6068), 1-4. Var. omits *ištēn(en)*.

17. Sister of the seven gods. Var. *na-ru-da*.

18. Var. *ina be-ti-šá lab-šá-tu*.

19. Var. [*rak*]-*ša*.

20. So var. l. 4. But the present text appears to have *šá . . . NU*.

21. Var. *siparri* (bronze).

22. Var. *tim-bu-ut-tam*.

TEXT II, Obverse.

(29) *sibitti šalmê šu-ut kakkê¹ ša iṣbi-ni ki-i maḥ-ri-ma ina kâtê imni-šû-nu iṣ . . .* (30) *ina kâtê šumêli-šû-nu iṣēra na-šu-u mi-sir erî ina kabli-šû-nu e-ri erî ina kaḫḫa[dê-šû-nu rak-su]* (31) *ḫarnāt erî šaknu(nu) azkār erî ina kaḫḫadê-šû-nu gaṣṣa ana be-li-šû-nu lab-[šu]* (32) *ina bābi kamî ina arki na-aš paṭri ina pān šalam iṣbi-ni tetemir. šipta at-tū-nu šalmê na-aš kakkê ana maḥ-ri-šû-nu taman-nu.*

(33) *ištēn(en) šalam iṣbīni² šá 1 ammat la-an-šû agā ramāni-šû a-pir lu-bu-uš ramāni-šû la-biṣ* (34) *ina kigallî bu-ri tuṣza-az mi-sir erî ina kabli-šû paṭar erî ša sibitti ubāni arak-šû* (35) *ina kâti imni-šû ḫa-ši-in erî ina kâti šumêli-šû na-ši ina imni-šû sa-kip gallê limnūti* (36) *ina šumêli-šû mu-še-rib ušēdi damḫi u lamassi damiḫ-ti tašaṭṭa-ár ina bābi kamî te-te-mir* (37) *šipta at-ta šal-mu sa-kip lim-ni u aḫa-bi³ ana maḥ-ri-šû taman-nu.*

(38) *[1 šalam] ili bîti šá iṣbīni teppu-uš⁴ ina imni-šû i-kaṣ-rab ina šumêli-šû iṣgam-lum na-ši-[i ?]* (39) *[e-r]i erî ina kaḫḫadi-šû ina bābi kamî te-te-mir* (40) *šipta ili bîti u-ṣur bît-ka ana maḥ-ri-šû taman-nu.*

(41) *šalmê ūgallê ša iṣbi-ni kalâ lab-šû ina imni-šû-nu paṭar erî ina šumêli-šû-nu kakka [na-šu-u]* (42) *ina idê-šû-nu m[u-šam-ḫit (?) limni u (?)] aḫa-bi tašaṭṭa-ár ina ni-ri-ba-ni imna u šumêla [te-te-mir].*

(43) *šalmê ta-lim⁵ tîti ša iṣ . . na-šu-u ina idi-šû-nu ir-[ba rab]iṣ šulme(me) ši-i ra[biṣ lemutti tašaṭṭa-ár]* (44) *[gaṣṣa] lab-šû mē ina kubbi ú-ṣur ina ṭubḫāt bî[ti (?) u (?)] ina tarbaši te-te-mir.*

(45) *[šalmê . . .] tîti ša kalâ lab-šû iṣba-an-gab-gab-u na-šû-u* (46) *[ina*

1. This probably refers to the seven deified weapons in the Irra myth; Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, 138.

2. Presumably the statue referred to in Zimm., no. 42, l. 47 (=supra, p. 60), where the same incantation is recited before him. Zimmern identified him with

TEXT II, *Obverse*.

(29) Seven statues of weapon-men¹ of tamarisk-wood as before, carrying in their right hands . . . of wood, (30) and in their left hands a laurel-stick, and [bound] about their waists with a girdle of copper and about [their] heads with bands (?) of copper (31) furnished with horns of copper, clad with crescents of copper upon their heads and with gypsum for their garment, (32) bury in the *kamû*-gate behind the dagger-bearer in front of the statue of tamarisk. Recite before them the incantation 'Ye weapon-bearing statues.'

(33) One statue of tamarisk-wood,² whose stature is one cubit, crowned with his proper head-dress, clad in his proper garments, (34) place on a platform of reed-matting; (he is) carrying a copper girdle round his waist, a copper dagger, whose length is seven fingers, (35) in his right hand (and) a copper axe in his left hand; write on his right (side ?) 'overthrower of evil devils,' (36) on his left (side ?) 'introducer of the good *šēdu* and the good *lamassu*'; bury in the *kamû*-gate; (37) recite before him the incantation: 'Thou statue, overthrower of the evil one and the enemy.'³

(38) [A statue] of the house-god of tamarisk-wood thou shalt make⁴: with his right hand he blesses, with his left he carries a scimitar (?) : (39) [ban]ds of copper (are) on his head; bury (him) in the *kamû*-gate, (40) recite before him the incantation 'O house-god protect thy house.'

(41) Statues of great lions of tamarisk-wood, clad in *kalû*-paste, [carrying] in their right (hands) a dagger of copper and in their left a weapon (42) write on their arms '[Prostrator of the evil one (?) and] the enemy': bury in the entrances, right and left.

(43) Clay statues of the twins (?),⁵ which carry . . . of wood, [write] on their arms 'Enter, spirit of peace; go away, spi[rit of evil]'; (44) they are clad in [gypsum] and have water drawn on them in black wash: bury in the corners of the h[ouse and (?)] in the court.

(45) [Statues . . .] of clay, which are clad in *kalû*-paste (and) carry the

Lugal-girra, a form of Nergal; cf. Zimm., no. 54, 9-11 and 53, 16, where the *šut kappê* are associated with Nergal and Ishum respectively.

3. For this incantation see Zimmern, no. 42, ll. 48-58 (*supra*, p. 60).

4. =Text I, col. III, l. 5, closely associated with Narudu.

5. Lugal-girra and Meslamta-ea. See text I, obv. III, 49 and rev. II.

TEXT II, Obverse.

idāti-šù]-nu ši-i [rabiš lemut]ti tašatta-ár . . ina báb . . . imna u šumēla
te-te-mir.

(47) [šalmē . . .] ⁱerini kalā lab[-šù] na-šù-u ina idāti-šù-nu

(48) [.] ina šumēli-šù-nu lamassi bīti

Reverse.

(1) [b]a-áš-me ¹ tīti gaš[ša lab-šù] s[u . . .]-i na-šù[-u ina idāti-šù-nu]

(2) [ši-]i lum-nu ir-ba [šul-mu tašatta-ár].

(3) [šalm]ē mušhušši tīti g[ašša] lab-šù ina askuppi [bīti] te-te-[mir].

(4) [šalmē šuḥur]mašī tīti [ti . . .] na-šù-u gašša lab-šù zumur nūni is-ḥu
ina idāti-šù-nu (5) ir-ba taš-mu u ma-ga-r[u] tašattar ina kabal MUD
ina kabal tarbaši te-te-mir.

(6) šalmē kulili tīti ša iddā pa-aš-šù gašša lab-[šù ina] idi-šù-nu RI . . .

(7) ir-ba taš-mu u ma-ga-ru tašattar ina kabal bīti [ina] báb urī šapliš
te-te-mir.

(8) šalmē girtablili tīti zikri u sinništi kalā lab-šù ina báb urī eliš
[te-te-mir].

(9) šalmē ušumgalli (?) ⁱbi-ni ² ša ⁱpa-[- . . .] na-šù-u ina idāti-šù-nu
ú-suh m[ur-ša] (10) ir-ba maš-ru-u tašatta-ár . . [ina] ⁱkan-ni: báb
kummi te-te-[mir].

(11) šalmē [zīb]^{u 3} ⁱbi-ni ² ša dišpa hemēta na-šù-u ina idāti-šù-nu mašrū
[taš-mu-u . . .] (12) balā-tum ir-ba (?) tašatta-ár ina kabal bīti te-te-mir.

(13) šalmē ^agalu-lāl ⁴ tīti egā lab-šù ina tūbkāt tarbaši arkā-ti [te]-te-mir.

(14) šalmē ^ala-ta-rak ⁴ tīti kubba lab-šù ina tūbkāt tarbaši maḥrā-ti te-te-mir.

1. For these and the following monsters, the offspring of Tiamat, see Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, *passim*. Those of clay, except the *ur-mah-amēlu*, occur in text I, obv. III, 49-56.

2. These wooden statues were probably grouped with the other wooden statues in text I, obv. II.

TEXT II, *Obverse.*

ritual-cup, (46) [on their arms] write 'Go away, [spirit of evil]':
 . . . : bury in the . . . gate right and left.

(47) [Statues . . .] of cedar-wood cla[d] in *kalû*-paste, carrying . . . ,
 [write (?)] on their arms (48) on their left 'Lamassu of
 the house'

Reverse.

(1) [Vi]pers¹ of day [clad in] gyps[um] carry[ing . . .], write on
 their arms] (2) ' [Go aw]ay evil, enter [peace].'

(3) [Statue]s of the Raging Serpent of clay, clad in g[ypsu]m, bury in
 the threshold [of the house].

(4) [Statues of] the Goat-[fish] of cla[y], carrying . . . , clad in gypsum,
 cloaked in fishes' skins, on their arms (5) write: 'Enter obedience and
 favour,' bury in the middle of the . . . in the middle of the court.

(6) Clay statues of the Fish-man which are anointed with bitumen and
 cla[d in] gypsum, on their arms write: '. . . (7) enter obedience and
 favour!', bury in the middle of the house [in] the 'gate of the roof,'
 underneath.

(8) Clay statues of the Scorpion-man, male and female, clad in *kalû*-
 paste, [bury] in the 'gate of the roof,' above.

(9) Statues of the *ušumgal* (?) of tamarisk-wood, carrying . . . , on
 their arms write: 'Banish s[ickness]; (10) enter plenty!', bury [in]
 an oil-jar or in the gate of the ritual-chamber.

(11) Tamarisk-wood statues of the [Zû-bir]d (?),³ which carry honey and
 butter, on their arms write: 'O plenty, [obedience, . . .], (12) life,
 enter!' Bury in the middle of the house.

(13) Clay statues of the god 'Honey-man,'⁴ clad in green paste, bury in
 the back corners of the court.

(14) Clay statues of the god Lataarak,⁴ clad in black paste, bury in the
 front corners of the court.

3. Figures of the Zû-bird have been found with great arms, on which there
 could have been writing. Restore IM . DUGUD . ĜU.

4. ^aGalu-lal and ^dLataarak are very closely associated; but they are different
 stars, and cannot therefore be alternative writings of the same name, as was
 maintained by Mr. Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 712 n. 40. Cf. IV, R. 21.a.26.

TEXT II, Reverse.

- (15) *šalmê ur-mah-amêli tîti ina idāti-šû-nu ta-par-ri-ik mukîl rêš lemutti*
 (16) *tašaṭṭa-âr ina bâb mu-sa-a-te imna u šumêla te-te-mîr.*

(17) [2 *šalmê*] kalbi ¹ša gaṣṣa lab-šû e tam-ta-lik epu-uš pî-ka ²šûm šani-e e tam-ta-lik ú-šuk.

(18) [2 *šalmê*] kalbi šalmi a-ru-uḥ napišti-šû ³šûm šani-e da-an ri-gim-šu. ⁴

(19) [2 *šalmê*] kalbi sâmi ta-rid asakki, šûm šani-e ka-šid aḡa-bi. ⁵

(20) [2 *šalmê*] kalbi arḡi sa-kip irat lim-ni, šûm šani-e mu-na-ši-ku ga-ri-šu. ⁶

(21) [2 *šalmê*] kalbi burrumi mu-še-ri-bu damiḡti, šûm šani-e mu-še-šu-u lemutti. ⁷

(22) [*šalmê*] 10 (?) kalbê tîti ina bâbi kamî te-te-mîr, šipta kalbê namrâti ⁸ana pâni-šû-nu taman-nu.

(23) [. . *šalmê*] maḡurrê iṣbi-ni BURU.KUR.RA urgulû

(24) tābtu uḡḡulu ḡarnānu ḡarahḡu ḡalluru ⁹pulîlu ⁹suluppu šaškû . .
 damḡu (25) [kaspu] ḡurāšu ana libbi maḡurri tuballal ina iṣid tarbaši
 ina šumêli tetemîr. ¹⁰

(26) 3 *šalmê* IM paṭrâti iṣHI.GIN. ^{meš}na-šû-u paṭar erî u-ṣur (?)

(27) PAD ^{giš}EN ^{giš}immari (?) ina kabal askuppât bâbi kamî imna u
 šumêla tetemîr. (28) zumur suḡurî ¹¹zumur arsuppi urgulû . . imna
 u šumêla . . . (29) ina šumêli bâbi kamî . . tetemîr. ¹⁰

(30) šumma amêlu šēpê lemut-tim [ina bîti is-di-ḡa ip-]ta-ras ¹²epuṣtu
 šîātu. kibir ^anâri ru'ti ^anâri (31) epiṣ bâb bît Anim

1. Previous edition of this section by Meissner, *O.L.Z.*, 1922, 201-2. Dogs were sacred to Gula-Ninkarrak: see introduction, p. 41. Dogs, some painted and inscribed, as here, have been found, viz.:—

5 at Nineveh: described by Mr. Gadd, *R.A.*, 19, 159; illustration in Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, Tafel 22.

3 at Kish: Langdon, *Kish*, I, p. 91.

6 at Sippar: Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, pp. 90-94.

For correspondences see following notes.

2. Found at Nineveh, coloured white and inscribed thus. Gadd, *ibid.* (30,003); Jastrow, 71c.

3. Found at Kish, inscribed a-ri-iḡ napišti-šu.

4. Found at Nineveh, coloured black, inscribed da-an ri-giṣ-šu. Gadd, *ibid.* (30,005); Jastrow, 71e.

TEXT II, *Reverse*.

(15) Clay statues of the Lion-man : on their arms write : ' Bolt out the " supporter of the evil head " ' : (16) bury in the gate of the closet right and left.

(17) [2 statues] of dogs,¹ clad in gypsum :—' Don't think : open your mouth ! ' ² The name of the second : ' Don't think, bite ! ' ³

(18) [2 statues] of black dogs :—' Consume his soul ! ' ³ The name of the second : ' Strong is his bark. ' ⁴

(19) [2 statues] of red dogs :—' Driver away of the *asakku*-demon. ' The name of the second : ' Conqueror of the enemy. ' ⁵

(20) [2 statues] of green dogs :—' Overthrower of the breast of the evil one. ' The name of the second : ' Biter of his foe. ' ⁶

(21) [2 statues] of spotted dogs :—' He who brings in goodness. ' The name of the second : ' He who expels evil. ' ⁷

(22) [Statues of] 10 dogs of clay : bury in the *kamû*-gate. Recite before them the incantation ' Fierce dogs. '

(23) [. . statues of] *makurru*-boats, of tamarisk-wood ; the mountain-bird, the great lion (?) (24) salt, salicornia, *yarahhu*-corn, beans, peas, dates, fine meal, good . . , (25) [silver,] gold, shalt thou mix within the boat, bury in the foundation of the court on the left.

(26) 3 statues of carrying daggers and s, ' dagger of copper protect (?) ' . . (27) , bury in the middle of the threshold of the *kamû*-gate, right and left. (28) A skin of a *suhur*-fish and the skin of an *arsuppu*-fish, a great lion (?) . . . right and left . . . (29) bury to the left of the *kamû*-gate.

(30) If—as to any man—the foot of evil [cut]s off [prosperity in his house], this is the ritual. Slime of the river, mud of the river . . .

5. Found at Nineveh, coloured red and inscribed thus. Gadd, *R.A.*, 19, 159 (30,002); Jastrow, 71b.

6. Found at Nineveh and Kish, the former coloured green and inscribed thus, the latter inscribed *mu-na-aš-šik ga-ri-šu*. Gadd, *R.A.*, 19, 159 (30,004); Jastrow, 71d.

7. Found at Nineveh, coloured white with red spots and inscribed thus. Therefore translate 'spotted,' not 'grey,' as Meissner, *loc. cit.* Gadd, *R.A.*, 19, 159 (30,001); Jastrow, 71a.

8. Written *URmeš UDmeš*.

9. Written *GŪ . GAL* and *GŪ . TUR*. *GŪ* is phonetic for *GŪG*, Deimel, *Sum. Lex*, no. 345. *Pulilu*=Syr. *paliltā*, chick-pea or fenugreek. *GŪ . GAL* is rendered *halhuru*, *Z.A.*, 28, 109. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, 33 note 7.

10. Written *ditto*.

11. Cf. Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 50, 8.

12. Restored from *K.A.R.*, 44. 20, a similar though not identical passage.

TEXT II, Reverse.

epir báb bît ^aMarduk epir sáki (32) uḥḥulu ḫarnānu
^{ḫem}ṣegušu ^{ḫem}kibtu ni-ḫip-tu¹ zikritu u sinništu naphāru 15 šam-me an-
 nu-ti tamahḫaš šam[nu . . . ruḫḫi]eri-nu (33) dišpu ḫemētu šamnu
 ḫalšu šamnu tābu šaman ⁱseri-nu mē nāri mē būrti šá bît ^aMarduk itti
 a-ḫa-[miš] tuballal (34) ina išāti tušabšal šam-me an-nu-ti ana libbi
 tanaddi-ma ú-ḫab umarraṭ ina libbi gašši uballal epir babāni kálišunu
 (35) ina libbi tubkāt bīti kálišina ta-šá-ḫaṭ-ma úmu rabû umāši ina muḫḫi
 te-iš-šir.

(36) šamimḫurlimmu⁴ šamḫa-šu-u šamaṭaišu rubuṣ alpi⁵ ina šarat
 unīki zikra la idi talamme šaman ḫanî tābi tasallah (37) šiptu
 ŠE.GA.ME.EN šani-šu šalši-šu ana muḫḫi taman-nu ina kišadi-šu
 tašakka-an-ma šēp lemutti parisa-at.

(38) ana šēp lemuttim ina bît amēli para-si zer ^uGIŠ.ŠAR zer šammaštakal
 zer šamlišan kalbi zer šamašalli⁶ (39) zer ^uNIG.SI.DI zer šambu-kut-te
 zer šama-na šip-ri⁷ šammē annūti ište-niš tumarraṭ ina dišip šādi . . .
 iṣ šamittitti⁷ (40) tuballal šalši-šu ta-za-az-ma ina askuppi bābi aḫi imna
 u šumēla te-te-mir-ma muršu ti-ḫu di-lib-tū u mutānu ana amēli u bīti-šu
 šatta ištenit la iṭeḫu-šu.

(41) ana amēli báb bīti-šu ub-bu-ub kiš-pi ana bît amēli šuāti la ṭeḫi-e kibir
^anāri gašša šaršerra ište-niš tumarraṭ ina billiti tuballal-ma (42) šiptu
 iz-zi-ta šam-ra-ta šiptam an-ni-tam šalši-šu ana libbi tamannu-ma sib-bi⁸
 báb bît amēli šuāti billita tuballal-ma ina zumri-šu ta-ša-ḫaṭ-ma
 šá-lim.

(43) ana kiš-pi ana amēli u bīti-šu la ṭeḫi-e šammaštakal šam. billitu
 kib-ri ina bābi kamî (44) u šir-ri dalti te-te-mir-ma ana
 pāni i-ḫal-li-ḫu ana amēli u bīti-šu la iṭeḫu-u.

1. This rendering assumes that the word is connected with the Syr. *neqbā*. But Campbell Thompson compares Phoenician *nukubāt* 'spurge olive' (Herbal, p. 142). Cf. *B.E.*, 31. 58, 7; 72, 1. 30, n. 14.

2. The verb is here 3rd pers. sing. 'he shall dip.' Such confusion is common.

3. Here the verb is again 2nd pers. 'thou shalt clear away.'

4. Written *IGI.IGI*. Cf. Zimmern, *Rt.*, no. 11, rev. 4, etc.

TEXT II, *Reverse*.

(31) dust of the gate of the temple of Anu, dust of the gate of the temple of Marduk, dust of the street (32) salicornia, *šegušu*-meal, wheat flour, medlar (?)¹ male and female, all these 15 plants pound up, oil [. . . resin of] cedar (33) honey, butter, fine oil, good oil, oil of cedar, water from the river, water from the well of the temple of Marduk, mix together and (34) boil over the fire, cast therein these plants, dip² them and pulverize them, mix them in gypsum, clean away³ the dust of all the gates (35) in all the recesses of the house, and draw thereon the great spirit of the court.

(36) The *imhurlimmu* plant, thyme, hellebore, ox-dung, wrap in the wool of a she-goat that has not known a male, sprinkle with oil of the sugar-cane, (37) recite over it the incantation 'Thou art favourable' two or three times, and the foot of evil shall be cut off.

(38) To cut off the foot of evil from a man's house—the seed of the 'garden' plant, the seed of the *maštakal*, the seed of the 'dog's tongue' hemp-seed, the seed of the 'justice' plant, the seed of the *bukuttu*, the seed of the 'for the business' plant,—these seven plants thou shalt pound up, bray, mix in mountain honey . . . thorn, (40) divide (the mixture) in three parts, bury (it) in the threshold of the side gate right and left, and illness, headache, affliction and death shall not approach that man and his house for one year.

(41) To purify the gate of a man's house and to prevent sorcery from approaching that man's house, slime of the river, gypsum, red clay, thou shalt pound up together and mix in mixed beer and (42) the incantation 'Thou art angry, thou ragest'—this incantation thou shalt recite three times over it, the threshold (?)⁸ of the gate of that man's house . . . mixed beer thou shalt mix and smear it on his body (?) and it (?) (will be) well.

(43) In order that sorcery may not approach a man and his house, the *maštakal*-plant, . . . , mixed beer, slime (44) bury in the *kamû*-gate and the posts of the door: it (the sorcery) shall perish before them, unto that man and his house it shall not come nigh.

5. Written *ḡGUD*, usually read *Ḥarru*, Chicago Syll. 122. For *rubuṣ alpi*, see Küchler, *Med.*, p. 30, l. 38, and *C.T.*, 43. 3.

6. Written *a-ṣal(NI)-lal*.

7. Written *GIR*.

8. For *sip-pi*. The meaning is perhaps 'gateway-wings,' Sidney Smith, *R.A.*, 21. 81.

III. THE RITUAL FOR HEALING A SICK MAN

From the Series *Utukkê Limnūti*. Composite text.¹

The text opens with a description of the activities of the evil spirit (*utukku*). The first few lines are partly lost, partly too badly broken to allow of any restoration.¹

Transcription

- 1-6.²
7. [lù dingir inninni na]-an-tuk-tuk
8. [amēlam ıla u] ilti(ti) ul uš-tar-š[i-i³]
9. [é] šár-ra ú-a-na-[an-dúg-ga]-dé
10. bi-e-tum du-uš-šá [la iz-nu-un]
11. [gar]-sag su kud-da nig-nam
12. ša-di-i ša-ku-tum ša mim-ma [ta-a-bu]
13. gištir-tir-ra gišgè dù[g-ga]
14. ina ki-šá-a-ti šá ši-il-la[-ši-na ta-a-bu]
15. gišgi-a gi-ùr šù-šù-[e-dé]
16. a-pa u ku-pi-e it-[ta-na-at-ba-ak]
17. ambar-ra kua mušen-na ba-an
18. ina ap-pa-ri nu-ú-nu u iṣ[-šu-ru]
19. gan-šar gan-zi-da⁴
20. ina mi-riš-tū⁴
21. tul giššar tul (?)
22. ina bur-ti (?) ki-ri-i
23. sar-sar-ra nam
24. ina mu-sa-ri-e
25. ḏasar-alim-nun [dumu-sag ḏen-ki-ge a-a-ni-šú mu-na-a]b-bi
26. ^{il}Marduk mar riš-tu[-u šá ^{il}É-a ana a-bi-šù iḫ-]bi.
27. a-a-mu utuk-ḡul ni-sukud-da
28. a-bi ú-tuk-ku lim-nu šá [. e]-lu-ú (?)
29. dingir nu za-pa-ág-bi ni ni-sukud-da
30. ul i-lu ri-gim-[šú šá ki-ma rig]-mu-šu (?) šá-ku-ú
31. û-šù-uš-šub⁵ a[n-d]ul-[la-bi] gi[g-ga-ám kuš]-bi lag-ga nu-un-gál
32. ur-ru-ub ši-l-la-šù uk-ku-ul ina zu-um-ri-šù nu-u-ru ul i-ba-aš-ši

1. Lines numbered according to Nies II, 22. Lines of duplicates indicated where they occur by figures in brackets. See introduction, p. 35.

2. The end of line 4 should probably be restored [u-ma-]aḫ-ḫi-ir.

3. This might be -š[ù-ú . . .], but with the exception of line 33 (ba-an-làg-gi-eš),

III. THE RITUAL FOR HEALING A SICK MAN

From the Series *Utukkê Limnūti*. Composite text.¹

The text opens with a description of the activities of the evil spirit (*utukku*). The first few lines are partly lost, partly too badly broken to allow of any restoration.¹

Translation.

1-6.

7. He has not permitted [the man] to have a [god and] goddess,

9. The house in prosperity he has not [maintained]

11. The high mountain which [produces] all [good things he has darkened]

13. In the forest, whose shade is [sweet],

15. In reed and reed-thicket he rushes forth

17. In the marsh fishes and birds he has

19. In the cultivated garden ,

21. In the well of the garden ,

23. In the plantation ,

25. Marduk, the first-born son of Ea, unto his father spoke :

27. ' My father, the evil spirit whose like
is high ;

29. ' there is no god whose cry is as loud as his cry ;

31. ' at sunset his shadow casts darkness, in his body there is no light,

only one devil is referred to throughout the first 55 lines.

4. *gan-zi-da*. Thur.-D., *Uruk*, 17, rev. 35-6, *gan-na-zi*=*me-ri-šu*.

5. *û-šû-uš-šub* usually=*erib šamši* (sunset). Hence *urruš* is a new word for 'sunset.'

TEXT III, Obverse.

33. á-úr-á-úr-šú ni-gigri(ri)-e-a ? gál-bi la-ba-an-làg-gi-eš
 34. *ina pu-uz-ra-a-ti*¹ *iḥ-ta-na-al-lu-up* ⁱ[*ṣdal*]-*ti* ul *i-ba*-^e
 35. dubbin-bi zī-ta bi-iz-bi-iz-za-ḫi ḡuš-bi ùḡ-ḡul-a
 36. (1.)³ *ina ṣu-up-ri-šū mar-tu it-ta-na-at-tuk-ki iz-zu im-tū li-mut-tū*
 37. (2.) túg ⁴dàra-a-ni nu-dū-a á-šu-[ni] sud-sud
 38. (3.) *ni-bit-ta-šū ul ip-pat-tar i-da-a[-šu] i-ḫa-am-ma-tu*
 39. (4.) ki-ib-ba-bi er-sia ki-šár-ra-ge gù-akkil nu-un-gà-gà
 40. (5.) *a-šar i-tag-ga di-im-tam uš-ma-al-la-a ki-ša-a-ri ta-nu-ḫa-tum ul*
i-ka-al-la
 41. (6.) a-a-mu min-kám-ma-šú ì-nir-ra bulug gal maḡ ì-gúd gab-nu-gi
 42. (7.) *a-bi ina šá-ni-i e-tíl šur-bu ra-bi ṣi-ri šá-ḫu ul im-maḫ-ḫar*
 43. (8.) ù-um-ta-diḡ im-súr-ḡuš-zi-ga-gim [a]-ga-bi-šú nu-silig-ga
 44. (9.) *i-la*-² *im-ma ki-ma ša-a-ri iz-zu šam-ru te-bi a-na ár-ki-šū ul i-ta-ri*
 45. (10.) im-ri-ḡa-mun im-súr-ḡuš-zi-ga-gim [sa (?)]-bi-šú ni-nigin-na
 46. (11.) *a-šam-šu-tum šá iz-zi-iš šam-riš te-ba-tim ina la-ba-ni-šū i-ša-*
[ḫu-ru]
 47. (12.) im-ḡāl-lu im-a⁵-ri-a-bi lù saḡar-ra ni-nigin-ni
 48. (13.) *šu-ú-tum šá ina za-ḫi-šū ni-ši e-[pi-ra] i-kaš-šu-[šu]*
 49. (14.) im-mir-ra gu-la a-ri-a-bi kalam-dagal-la ba-
 50. (15.) *iš-ta-nu šá ra-biš ina za-ḫi-šū [ma-tam rapaštam . . .]*
 51. (16.) im-sag-tum⁶ im-ma-an-ta-šèg nim-gi[r-b]i gir (?)
 52. (17.) *šad-du-ú šá šamē(e) e-liš ú-šá-az-na-nu bir-ḫu-šá(!)*
i-bar (?) -ri-iḫ
 53. (18.) im-mar-rū gul-gul saḡar-saḡar a-ra . . ḡa . .
 54. (19.) [a-]mur[-ru-u]
 55.

Here a lacuna of several lines, in which Marduk finishes

56. é den-lil-lá-ra é[-maḡ]
 57. *ina bît* ¹¹*Enlil bîti ṣi-i-ri*
 58. en-e ^{sa}legir-bi-šú nam-mi-[in-tar (?)]
 59. *a-na be-lu u be-el-tum* ⁷*šimāti*^{meš} a-
 60. ki(d)-ki(d)-bi a-rá in-ga-zu
 61. *ep-ši-e-ti-šū-nu al-ka[-ka-a-ti]-šū-nu i-[di] .]*

1. Cf. K.A.R., 128. 16, where á-úr-zu = pi-ši-ir-ka.

2. Sumerian : ' they enter not ' !

3. Lines 36-55 = K. 4625 obv.

4. Omitted in K. 4625.

5. So K. 4625, which restores the beginnings of the following lines.

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

33. 'into the secret places he slinks, he enters ² not by the door,

{ 35. 'his claw, which pours out gall, is fierce and evil poison,

{ 36. 'by his claw gall is poured out—fierce and evil poison,

37. (2.)³ 'his garment is not loosened, yet his arms hasten,

39. (4.) 'where he rages, he fills that place with tears, the universe withholds not wailing.'

41. (6.) 'O my father,' for the second time, (said he,) the hero mighty, great, far-famed and exalted, who hath no rival,

43. (8.) 'he binds, and like a raging, furious oncoming stormwind he turns not back,

{ 45. (9.) '(like) a cyclone, like a raging, furious, oncoming stormwind which twists about on its neck,

{ 46. (10.) 'he is a cyclone which, rising in rage and fury, twists on its neck,'

47. (12.) 'the south wind, whose assault overwhelms the people with dust,

49. (14.) 'the north wind, which with its onslaught mightily [afflicts] the wide land,

51. (16.) 'the east wind, which causes heaven above to rain; its lightning flashes forth (?)

53. (18.) 'the west wind, [which] destroys . . . , . . . the road (?) (with) dust.

55.

his speech and the answer of Ea begins. Ea continues:—

56. 'To the house of Enlil, the far-famed house [go thou (?) . . .]

58. 'to the lord and lady of fates ⁷

60. 'their deeds ⁸ and their ways learn thou

6. Hence K. 4625 is the 'London fragment' referred to in Delitzsch, *H.W.B.*, p. 642, s.v. *šadû*.

7. Probably Enlil and Ninlil, if the reading in l. 56 is right.

8. *I.e.* those of the devils.

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

Marduk goes to Enlil, who

62. Eridu(g)-ga a-na ni²-tuk (?) . . . a-na
 63. *ina Eridi mi-na-a i-[ba-aš-ši (?)] mi-na-a*
 64. ki-kin-kin-na me-maḡ-bi . . .
 65. *áš-ri ši-te'-e* *par-ši ši-ru-tim* . . .

Marduk, his request unanswered, returns

66. tù-dúg-ga ^dnin[-maḡ-a-]ge ki(d)-ki(d)-bi šu-maḡ-bi
 67. *ina tudukî(e) šá ilatbe-lit-ilānimeš ina ši-ru-ti šá ka-ti-šù⁴* . . .
 68. a-rá gal-gal-la a-[rá . . .] za-e ^dnin-maḡ a-ba[-an-búr-ri]
 69. *al-ka-ka-a-ti [ra-ba-a-ti al-]ka-ka-a-tū tap-šu-ru at-ta⁴ [ilatbe-lit-ilānimeš]*
 70. ^dnin-maḡ ^{sa}legír ama-gal Keš^{k1}-[ge]
 71. *ilatbe-lit-i-lí [be-el-tum]* . . .⁵ *um-mi rabî-ti šá Ki-e-ši*
 72. é-gu-la . . . -na . . nam-an-ki-a nam-dingir-ri-e-ne-ge šu-n[a . . .]
 73. *ina é-gula* . . . *ši-mat šamê(e) u iršitim(tim) ši-mat ilānimeš ina*
 ḳātê-[šá . . .]
 74. a-rá [ba-an-zu-dé sa]g na-an-ga ù-mu-un-na-sġ
 75. a-n[a al-ka-ka-]a-ti la-ma-du *hi-šá-aš-šim-ma*

Marduk goes to Bêlit-ilî, who

76. dumu [. . . ^dasar-a]lim-nun-na Eridu(g)-ga giš-ġur-bi ni-gál-la
 77. *mar* [. . . ^{il}Marduk] *ina Eridi ú-sur-ta-šù šá-kin-[ti]*
 78. ġa-ra-an-[pad] za-e ġa-ra-an-pad-da
 79. *li-[kal-lim-]ka ka-a-ti li-kal-lim-ka*
 80. a-a-mu⁸ en-gal ^den-ki-ge ġa-ra-an-pad-da za-e ġa-ra-an-pad-da
 81. a-bi⁸ *be-lu ra-bu-u ilê-a li-kal-lim-ka ka-a-ti li-kal-[lim-ka]*

1. This is admittedly uncertain. But it will be seen below that no sense can be made of ll. 76 foll. unless Marduk goes to Bêlit-ilî at l. 75, as indicated. Now the close resemblance of ll. 60, 61 to ll. 74, 75, which provide the 'cue' for Marduk to go to Bêlit-ilî, suggests that ll. 60, 61 also are such a cue. This, together with the adverbs of motion in ll. 56-59, forms the justification, if such it be, of the above interpretation. Something of the kind seems to have been contemplated by Falkenstein (*Haupttypen*, p. 74).

2. [I am not convinced by Poebel's thesis that *NI* is always read *i* before the vowels *u-i-e* (Poebel, *The Sumerian Prefix Forms E and I*). Mr. Gurney has read *ni* throughout, and at present this seems to be the only safe reading. S. L.]

3. Thus the Akkadian: Sumerian 'her mighty hand.'

4. Masculine for feminine.

5. The text has apparently [be-el-tum] *šá šamê(e)* 'queen of heaven,' but this can hardly be right, for Bêlit-ilî is never queen of heaven, a title commonly applied to Ishtar.

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

replies as follows ¹ :—

62. 'In Eridu whatsoever there be, whatsoever

64. 'seek thou the place, . . . the far-famed decrees [learn].

to Ea, who continues as follows :—

66. 'By the curse of Bêlit-ilî, by the might of her hand ³ [may their deeds be frustrated (?)] ;

68. '(such) great deeds hast thou, O Bêlit-ilî brought to nought (*i.e.* in the past),

70. '(O) Bêlit-ilî, queen . . . , ⁵ great mother of Kêsh.

72. 'In E-gula ⁶ . . . [where she holds] the fates of heaven and earth and the fates of the gods in her hands,

74. 'to learn (their) doings hasten unto her.'

replies as follows ⁷ :—

76. 'O son . . Marduk, in Eridu his plan is laid,

78. 'let him reveal it to thee, to thee let him reveal it ;

80. 'let my father Ea, ⁸ the great lord, reveal it to thee, to thee let him reveal it ;

6. Temple of Bêlit-ilî at Kêsh.

7. This interpretation is required by the sense of the following lines. At some point Marduk must leave Ea's house, to return to it at l. 88. Also ll. 78-82 are clearly parallel to ll. 91-94 below, in the sense that the person addressed in the former passage (*ka-a-ti*, etc.) is the same as the speaker of the latter passage (*îa-ti*, etc.); and that person is undoubtedly Marduk (see l. 88). Now in l. 80 the speaker refers to 'my father Ea'; hence someone other than Ea is here addressing Marduk, and it is difficult to see who this can be except Bêlit-ilî. This being so, the most suitable point for her speech to begin is at l. 76, immediately after Ea's words 'hasten unto her.'

8. If the argument in the previous note is accepted, there are only two possible explanations for these words: *either* the original text had *a-a-zu* 'thy father,' and in the process of copying a scribe mistook this for the formula familiar to him; *or* more probably this is a further instance of the way in which the Eridu priesthood contrived to subordinate the other gods to Ea.

TEXT III, Obverse.

82. me-giš-ġur geš-tu(g)-geštu-dagal-la ^den-ki-ge ġa-ra-an-pad-da za-e
ġa-ra-an-pad-da
83. par-ši ú-šu-rat uz-nu rapaštim(tim) šá ⁱé-a li-kal-lim-ka ka-a-tū
li-kal-lim-ka
84. in-kin-kin-gà inim-maġ-bi dúg-ga-a-ni ki in-gi-ab-kin-kin-gà
85. iš-te-²-e-ma a-mat ki-bi-ti-šú šir-tum áš-ri-iš iš-te-²-e-ma
86. ki(d)-ki(d)-bi ba-an-zu-a ki-bi-šú ba-an-ġi-ġi
87. ip-še-e-ti [an-]na-a-ti kul-lu-mi-im-ma ² ana aš-ri-ši-na tu-ur-ru
88. ^dasar-[lù-dùg] ^den-ki-ra é-a ba-ši-in-tur gù-mu-un-na-an-de-e ³
89. a-[a-mu lammū-kam ⁴]-ma-šú ^da-ru-ru SAL+[KU gal] ^den-lil-lá-ge
Eridu(g)-ga giš-ġur-bi ni-ġál-la
90. a-[bi ina] ri[-bi]-i ⁱatbe-lit-ì-lì a-ġat rabīt[u šá] ⁱEnlil ina eri-du(g)
ú-šur-ta-šú šá-kin-ti
91. ġa-ma-an-pad-da mà-e ġa-ma-an-pad-da
92. li-kal-lim-an-ni ia-ti li-kal-lim-an-ni
93. a-a-mu en-gal ^den-ki-ge ġa-ma-an-pad-da mà-e ġa-ma-an-pad-da
94. me giš-ġur geš-tu(g)-geštu-dagal-la ^den-ki-ge ġa-ma-an-pad-da mà-e
ga-ma-an-pad-da
95. ^den-ki dumu-ni ^dasar-lù (!) mu-un-na-ni-ib-ġi-ġi ġin-na dumu-mu
^dasar-lù-dùg
96. ġi ^dBabbar-ra sizkur-ra ù-bé-ni-[dùg-ga]
97. ma-ġar ⁱŠamaš nê-ka-a ú-ki-ma
98. dingir-galu-ba-ge : šá ìlì a-me-lu šu-a-tū šum-šù zu-kur-ma : mu-bi
pad-[da-ab]
99. sub-be sizkur-ra a-rá aruš-sud lilli pap-ġal-la dumu-dingir-ra-na
100. ina ik-ri-bi ni-ki-i a-lak-ti [ri-e-mu] a-me-lu mut-tal-li-ku mâr [i-li-šù]
101. sag-gà-na ġe-en-[gub-ba gà-la]-na-an-dág-dág-ġi
102. ina ri-ši-šù li-iz-ziz-ma [aḫ] ip-par-ki
103. inim-bi ^dBabbar-ra ġe-en-na-[an-dùg] . . . ġi-a ^dBabbar-ra ġe-
en-na-an- . . .
104. a-ma-tam šu-a-tim ana ⁱŠamaš liḫ-[bi . . .] DI ŠÁ ⁱŠamaš li- . . .

1. Both Sumerian and Accadian appear to have 'he sought.' If that is right, we must suppose this line to be a statement by the narrator, and not part of the speech of Bélit-ilī. But the forms in the next two lines (see following note) are apparently imperatives, and if this is so, the lines must still belong to the speech of Bélit-ilī; therefore the forms in ll. 84, 85 must also be translated by imperatives, or else no sense can be made of the passage. In defence of this we may cite *C.T.*, XVI, 45. 122, where *ki-bi in-kin-kin-ga=aš-ra-ti-šu-nu ši-te-²-a*, which shows that this

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

82. 'the decree and design of his great wisdom let Ea reveal to thee, to thee let him reveal it.
84. 'Seek ¹ (then), his far-famed utterance seek thou in that place,
86. 'examine these deeds and let them return to their place.'
88. Marduk entered the house of Ea and spoke (thus) :
89. 'My father' [for the fo]ur[th] time ; 'Bêlit-ilī, great sister of Enlil (said) : " In Eridu his plan is laid " :
91. 'Let him reveal it to me, to me let him reveal it,
93. 'let my father, the great lord Ea, reveal it to me, to me let him reveal it,
94. 'the decree and the design of his great wisdom let Ea reveal to me, to me let him reveal it.'
95. Ea answered his son Marduk : 'Go my son Marduk,
96. 'before Shamash offer sacrifice,
98. 'the name of the god of that man speak ;
99. 'with prayer and sacrifice, which is a procedure of mercy for the man, the son of his god, tossing in pain,
101. 'at his head may he (*i.e.* the man's god) stand, and not cease (his vigil).
103. 'This matter to Shamash let him tell, Shamash let him

Sumerian form is capable of being treated as an imperative. The Accadian scribe undoubtedly misunderstood the meaning of the line.

2. Imperative from the quadriliteral *klm*¹, II¹. The Sumerian has the imperative form *ba-an*.

3. For this line cf. *C.T.*, XVI, 45, 118.

4. Restored from K. 3241, ll. 11, 12. See pl. XIV.

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

- 105.¹ [máš-gig udu á-dár mùš] igi-gún-gún-nu-bi
 106.¹ [ú-ri-ša šal-mu im-mir ad-ri-e šá zi-mu-]šú ti-á-ia-a-ru²
 107.¹ [zi-bi dúg-ga u-me-ni-de ki-gal-la] u-me-ni-gub-na-u-ma-ni-ri
 108.¹ [na-piš-ta-šù lu-pu-ut] iḫ-ḫi (?) ina ki-gal-la šu-uz-ziz-zu ul-li[l-šù]
 109. [. nam-šub : . . . šip-]ti i-di-ma : u-me-ni-sig (?)
 110. pa-è (?) u-me-ni-è
 111. šu-pi-ma . . .

Here a lacuna of several lines.⁴

- (6.)⁵ urud-nig-[kalag-ga (?)⁶]
 (8.) ru-uk-[ku]
 (10.) lù (11.) šá amēla iḫ
 (12.) lilli-bi (13.) amēlu šu-ú
 (14.) urud-nig-kalag-ga ur-sag an-[na-ge za-pa-ág me-lám-a-ni
 ḡu-luḡ-ḡa šu-u-me-ti]⁸
 (15.) *erānikalaggū(u)* ḫar-rad^{ila-nim} [šá ina ri-gim me-lam-mi-šù gal-
 tū li-ḫi-e-ma]⁸
 (16.) túgú-li-in dar-a nig-ūr-tab-[tab-ba]
 (17.) ú-li-in-na bur-ru-un-ta [bu-u-la]
 (18.) i-izi nig-na zag^{giš}nad-da-na
 (19.) ḫut-ri-in-na niḫ-nak-ḫa i[t-ti ir-ši-šù]
 (20.) šag an-dúl túg-ga an-na-ge li[l-li-bi]
 (21.) ina lib-bi an-dúl-li šá šu-ba-[at šamē(e) amēlu šu-a-tu šu-uz-zi-iz]
 (22.) zid^{súr}-ra : zì-súr-ra-a e-ši[r : u-me-ni-ḡur]
 (23.) zag zid^{súr}-ra im-dār-ra⁹ : i-da-at zisurrì(e) me[-e šal-mu-u-ti⁹]
 (24.) ká-bar-ra á-zi-da á-ḡub-bu [u-me-ni-ḡur¹⁰]
 (25.) ba-ab ka-ma-a im-na u šu-[me-la e-šir]
 (26.) ká-bi nam-ti-la : ina ba-bi-šú ba-la-ṭa [lil-din-šú : ḡe-en-na-
 an-sum-mu]
 (27.) sag-bi¹¹ nam-erim búr-ru-da nig-ḡ[ul-gál-la]
 (28.) ma-mit¹¹ la pa-šá-ri mim-ma lim-[nu]

1. For ll. 105 to 108 see *infra*, 196 to 199.

2. For *tiiāru* see *M.A.O.G.*, I, 2.47, 157, and pp. 19-20; *R.A.*, XIII, 188, l. 16, XVII, 142.3. Cp. *A.J.S.L.*, XXXII, 110 n. 12.

3. See illustration, Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 85.

4. Some of the contents of K. 3241 may belong here. Possibly the fourth sign of K. 3241, l. 1 = the *PEŠ* which is to be seen in Nies, l. 112.

5. Here begins tablet 'D' (reverse): lines numbered according to *C.T.*, XVI, 35. Nies, II, 22, reverse is picked up at l. (29).

6. If this restoration is right, this is the first time *nig-kalag-ga* has been found

TEXT III, *Obverse*.

105.¹ ' [A black kid, a mountain goat, whose] appearance is beautiful . . .

107.¹ ' [touch its throat] (and) sacrifice ; place him on a platform,³
purify him,

109. cast the spell,

110. glorious and

Ea continues his instructions :—

(6.)⁵ ' A bronze bowl

(10.)-(13.)

(14.) ' Take the potent bell ⁷ of Anu, [which terrifies by the roar of
its splendour, and]

(16.) ' [*bind*] a four-footed animal with a many-coloured cord, . . . ,

(18.) ' [set] incense and a censer beside his bed, . . . ,

(20.) ' under the covering of the robe of heaven (*i.e.* the open sky)¹²
[place (?) that man]

(22.) ' with meal-water draw a line (about him),

(23.) ' beside the meal-water [set] black water (*i.e.* bitumen),

(24.) ' at the outer gate, right and left, draw (it) ;

(26.) ' at his gate may it give him life.

{ (27.) ' The ban, the curse,¹¹ dispeller of all evil . }

{ (28.) ' The ban, not to be undone for any evil . }

rendered by *rukku*. The usual Accadian rendering is as in l. 15.

7. For such a bell see Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion*, no. 70, a bell, found at Nineveh, with designs in bas-relief of the seven devils.

8. Restored from *C.T.*, XVI, 24. 25-27.

9. This occurs in Haupt, *A.S.K.T.*, 92. 15, but with *im-bar-ra*, i.e. *gaşu*, 'gypsum.' See Frank, *O.L.Z.*, 1910. 12. Translated *da-a-mat*, in *C.T.*, XIX, 2, K. 55. 13, or *hâpu* in *C.T.*, XIV, 8. 15.

10. For restoration see Haupt, *ibid.*, l. 14. 11. *I.e.* the priests' curse.

12. For a different interpretation cf. Schmidt, *M.V.A.G.*, 1911, 3, p. 98.

TEXT III, Reverse.

114. (29.) ud áš-kam : úmuakkal liš-tab-ri : [ġe]-ni-ib-zal-[zal-e] ¹
115. (30.) an-usan-an-na ² máš-ġul-dúb-ba kuš lilli dumu dingir-ra-na
(31.) ù-mu-un-na-an-te-[ga]
116. (32.) ina ši-mi-tan mašġuldubbu(u) ³ zu-mur amēli mār ili-šù tu-uġ-[hi]
117. (33.) túgbar-si máš-ġul-dúb-ba sag-gà-na u-me-ni-[sir]
118. (34.) ina pár-si-gu šá mašġuldubbī(e) kak-ka-d-su ru-ku-us
119. (35.) utuk-ġul a-lá-ġul gidim-ġul gál-lá-ġul dingir-ġul maškim[-ġul]
(36.) [ú-tuk-ku lim]-nu a-lu-u lim-nu e-ṭim-mu lim-nu gal-lu-u lim-nu
i-lu lim-nu ra-bi-šu lim-nu
120. (37a) dlâm-me ⁴ dlâm-me-a dlâm-me-ġab
(37b) la-maš-tum ⁴ la-ba-šu aġ-ġa-zu
121. (38.) utuk-lù-dib-ba : ú-tuk-ku ka-mu-u šá amēli e-ṭim-mu šá
amēlam šab-tu : gidim-lù-dib-ba
122. (39a) galu-ġul igi-ġul ka-ġul eme-ġul
(39b) lim-nu šá pa-ni lim-nu pu-u lim-nu li-ša-nu lim-nu
123. (40.) sag-gíg sū-gíg šag-gíg lipeš ⁶-gíg
(41.) mu-ru-uš kak-ka-di muruṣ šín-ni muruṣ libbi ki-iṣ ⁷ lib-bi
124. (42.) inim-inim-ma-ne-e sag-gà-na ġe-ib-ta-an-zi-zi-e-ne
125. (43.) [ina] šip-ti an-ni-ti ina ri-ši-šù li-in-na-as-ġu
126. (44.) ^dpa-sag-gà ligir-gal maškim maġ dingir-ri-e-ne-ge sag-ga-na
ġe-en-gub-ba gà-la-na-an-dág-gi
127. (45.) ⁱi-šum na-ḡ[i-r]u ra-bu-[u ⁸] ra-bi-ša ši-i-ru šá ilāni ina ri-ši-
šù li-iz-ziz-ma aḡ ip-pár-ku
128. kuš lilli pap-ġal-la-ge zi-ba-an-zí-en ka-kug-maġ-zu ġa-ma-ab-bi
129. ina zu-mur amēli mut-tal-li-ki te-bi pi-i-ka el-lu ši-ri liḡ-ka-bi
130. nig-ġul-gál-e zig-ga è-ba-ra ki ^deriš-ki-gal-la-ge
131. mim-ma lim-nu [te-bi ú-ši] ana áš-ri ^{ila^t}Eriškigalli
132. kuš-máš-ġul-dúb-ba kuš-lilli-pap-ġal-la-ta du-a
133. ma-šak mašġuldubbī(e) [ina zu-mur] amēli mut-tal[-li-ki ub-lam-ma]
134. tilla sil-dag[al-la]
135. ina ri-bi-ti [ina su-ú-ki rapašti(ti) i-di-ma]
136. nig-ġul-gál-e ki-šú ġe-mi-gur
137. mim-ma lim-nu ana iršitim(tim) li-[tur]

1. Same as C.T., XVII, 26. 73, ni-ib-zal can be seen at the beginning of Nies II, 22, reverse.

2. Here begins the day's ritual, for days began at sunset. Cf. text I, rev. 1, 37.

3. Var. (e).

4. See Langdon, *Mythology*, p. 366.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

114. (29.) ' for the whole of one day let it prevail.
115. (30.) ' In the evening² bring a scapegoat to the body of the man,
son of his god ;
117. (33.) ' with the fillet of the scapegoat bind his head.
119. (35.) ' Whether it be an evil spirit,⁵ or an evil demon, or an evil
ghost, or an evil devil, or an evil god, or an evil fiend,
120. (37.) ' or a hag-demon, or a ghoul, or a robber-sprite,
121. (38.) ' or a spirit that holds a man in its grip, or a ghost that has
seized on a man,
122. (39.) ' or an evil man, or one whose face is evil, whose mouth is
evil, whose tongue is evil,
123. (40.) ' headache, toothache, heart-disease or spasms of the bowels,
124. (42.) ' by this spell may they be chased away from his head.
126. (44.) ' May Ishum, great overseer and far-famed messenger of the
gods, stand at his head and not cease (his vigil).
128. ' Let thy holy and far-famed mouth say, " From the body of the
sufferer go away,
130. ' " O all that is evil, arise and depart unto the home of Erishkigal."
132. ' Take away the skin of the scapegoat from the body of the sufferer,
134. ' into the carrefour, into the wide street [throw it].
136. ' Let all evil return to the earth

5. For the translation of the names of the demons see Thompson, *Devils*, *passim*.

6. Often indistinguishable from *šag* : when opposed to it, as here, probably = bowels.

7. See Langdon in *A.J.S.L.*, 34. 207.

8. Cf. Zimmern, *Rt.*, 53. 17.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

138. a-la-ġul nig-nu-
 139. a-lu-u lim-nu šá a-na (?)
 140. (1.)² máš utuk-šig-ga [sag-gà-na nam-ba-dū-a¹]
 141. (2.) u-ri-ša³ še-e-du dum-ki [ina ri-ši-šu a_i ip-pa-ti-ir]
 142. (3.) û-gè-a šù-šù-bi-ta [nam-ti-la ġe-en-na-an-sum-mu⁴]
 143. (4.) mu-ú-šá u ur-ra ina ú-[zu-uz-zì-šù ba-la-ta li-id-din-šù]
 144. (5.) lilli-bi bara-šig-g[a]
 145. (6.) amēlu šu-ú ina barašiggî(e) ina
 146. (7.) é-nun-kug-ga ki-nam-ti-la
 147. (8.) ku-um-mu el-lu aš-ru šá ba-la-ti
 148. (9.) tibir-kug-zu kin-gal-maġ (10.) šum-gam-me kù-
 babbar
 149. (11.) gur-gur-ri⁵ en-ku mu-²-e-ri [ra-bu-u ši-i-ri] (12.) šá-
 aš-šá-ru šá šar-pi
 150. (10b) ġiš-tir kug-ga an-dûl dagal-la-bi u-me-[ni-te-ga]
 151. (12b) ana kiš-ti el-li-tim šá [šu-lul-sù rap-šu lu-ta_h-hi]
 152. (13.) ġiš-ma-nu ġiš-ġul-dúb-ba ġiš-nam-ti-la
 153. e-ri i₃huldubbû(u) i₃-ši [ba-la-ti]
 154. (14.) ġiš-ġin⁶ u-me-ni-tag : 155. ina pa-a-šù⁷ lîl-pu-ut-ma . . . : . . .
 156. (15.) alan nam-ti-la : šal-[mi ba-la-ti li-pu-uš : u-me-ni-dû]
 157. (16.) mu-sà⁸-a-bi : [šum-šù]
 158. [imin-]bi-e-ne
 159. [si-bit-ti-šù-nu]
 160, 161.
 162. imin-bi

Here a lacuna of a few lines. The text

- [ud-ti-la : ūmu(mu) ba-la-ti i-lit-ti ú-ri : Uri^{k1} u-tu-ud-da]⁹
 [ud-ġe-gál : ūmu(mu) hegalli mâr Nippûri : dumu Nippur^{k1}-ge]
¹⁰(1.) [ud-ka-zal-la Eridug-ga-ta :] ūmu(mu) ta-šil-ti šá ina Eri-du(g)
 ir-bu-ú : bulug-ge
 (2.) [ud-šig-ga kul-lab-]ta : ūmu(mu) dam-ku šá ina kul-la-bi¹¹
 šu-pu-ú : è-a

1. Restored from l. 177 *infra*.

3. Var. *šu*.

5. Var. *ru*.

8. *MUD* for *ĤU* before *NAD*, as frequently ; e.g. *S.B.P.*, p. 258, l. 17, V Raw.,

2. Here begins *C.T.*, XVI, 38, col. III.

4. Restored from l. 178 *infra*.

6. Var. omits *ġiš*.

7. Var. *ši*.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

138. ' [Let] the evil demon which
140. (1.)² ' Let the kid, the good genius, [not be removed from his head]
142. (3.) ' day and night as it stands [let it give him life].
144. (5.) ' [Let] that man in the shrine, in ,
146. (7.) ' in the ritual chamber, the place of life, [let him sit (?)].
- 148-151. (9-12.) ' Let the wise metal-worker, the great and noble
director, to the wide-shadowing forest bring a silver saw.

152. (13.) ' A scapegoat of tamarisk-wood, wood of life
154. (14.) ' with an axe let him touch and ;
156. (15.) ' a statue of life [let him make] ;
157. (16.) ' its name [let him speak (?)] ;
158. ' [the seve]n of them
- 160, 161.
162. ' The seven of them

continues with the names of the statues :—

- [' Spirit of life, offspring of Ur,]⁹
 [' Spirit of plenty, son of Nippur,]
¹⁰(1.) ' Spirit of gladness, that grew great in Eridu,
 (2.) ' gracious Spirit, that was created in Kullab,

46. 55c, 43. reverse 20.

9. This and the following eight lines restored from *K.A.R.*, 298, ll. 5-10.

10. Here begins *C.T.*, XVI, 36 (*i.e.* Tablet 'D,' col. IV).

11. Var. *kul-lab*, *K.A.R.*, 298, obv. I, 7.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

- (3.) [ud-igi-gūn-gūn à-]è-a : *ûmu(mu) šá pa-ni ba-nu-u tar-bit*
ki-e-ši : Keš^{k1}-ge
- (4.) [ud-si-di šir]-bur-la^{k1}-ge di-kut-mağ
- (5.) [*ûmu(mu) i-šá-ru da-aḡa-nu ši-i-ru šá La-ga-áš*
- (6.) [ud ŠAG . A . KU .] dūg-ga nam-ti-la sum-mu an-dūl Suru-
bak^{k1}-ge
- (7.) [*ûmu(mu) ša šá šak-ši ba-la-ṭa i-nam-di-nu ṣu-lul šu-ru-ub-ba-ak*
- (8.) [imin-bi-e]-ne eriš gaba-nu-gi sag-ga-na a ba-an-lāg-lāg-gi-eš
- (9.) [*si-bit-ti-šū-nu ir-šu-tum šá la im-maḡ-ḡa-ru ina ri-ši-šū*
li-iz-zi-zu
- (10.) . . . galu-ba-ge sizkur-ra ḡe-en-na-ab-bi
- (11.) . . . *amēli šu-a-tum teṣ-li-tum liḡ-bu-ú*
- (12.) [imin-bi-e]-ne tū-[kug-ga-e-ne-ta] ùg-ga nam-ti-la sum-mu
- (13.) [nig-ḡu]l-g[ál-e] gaba-an-gí-gí-a
- (14.) [*si-bit-ti-šu-nu ina tê-šu-nu el-li šá a-na me-ti ba-la-ṭi*
- (15.) [*i-nam-di-nu-ma šá mim-ma lim-nu i-rat-su li-ti-ir (?)*
163. (16.) é-dé [ba-e-ti (?)] . . . sag-]ga-na ḡe-en-gub-bu-uš
164. (17.) [*ana bīti(tū) [te-li-ki¹ . . . ina ri-ši-šū l]u-u ka-aḡa-nu*
165. (18.) á-lá [. na-an]-te-ga
166. (19.) *alū(ú) u a-na [. la i-ṭ]i-ḡu-šū*
167. (20.) já-áb-kug-ga : (21.) *ina šam-ni ar-ḡi el-[li]-tū š[i-zi]b l[a-a-ti*
me-š]id-su-ma : [ga-áb-šilim-ma u-me]-úr-úr²
168. (22.) utuk-šig-ga nig-ḡul-gál-e šu-na nu-è sag-ga-na ḡe-en-gub-bu-uš
169. (23.) [*še-]id dum-ḡi šá ina ka-ti-šū mim-ma lim-nu la uṣ-ṣu-ú³*
ina ri-ši-šū li-iz-ziz
170. (24.) utuk-ḡul-ḡál-e ḡa-ba-ra-è bar-ta-bi-šú ḡa-ba-ra-an-gub-[ba]
171. (25.) [*ú-tuk-ku lim-nu li-ši-ma ina a-ḡa-a-ti li-iz-[ziz]*
172. (26.) [min alan]-esir-gešpú sir-tab-ba u-me-[ni-gál]
173. (27.) [*2 ṣa-lam it-te-e šá ú-ma-ši ḡi-is-ṣu-ru-ti⁴ šu-[kun]*
174. (28.) zag-gab-ba ni-in-lal inim-inim-ma u-[ma-ni-šub]
175. (29.) *ina sip-pi tu-ru-uṣ-ma³ šip-ti⁵ i-di-ma*

1. Restored from text I, rev. 1, 34.

2. Restored from l. 195 *infra*.

3. Var. omits.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

- (3.) 'Spirit fair of face, child of Kēsh,
- (4.) 'just [Spirit], far-famed judge of Lagash,
- (6.) '[Spirit] that giveth life to [them that are] slain, shade of Shuruppak.
- (8.) 'Let these [seven] wise ones, who are without rival, stand at his head,
- (10.) '. . . of that man let them speak a prayer.
- { (12.) 'These [seven by their holy] curse giving life to the dead,
 (13.) (and) turning back the breast [of all evil],
 (14.) '[These seven by their holy curse give] life to the dead—
 (15.) '[let all evil] turn back [its breast] (?)—
163. (16.) '[thou shalt take ¹] to the house : let them stand at his [head].
165. (18.) 'The *alû* demon and [shall not come nigh him.
167. (20.) 'With fat of a pure wild cow and milk of a stable-cow rub him.
168. (22.) 'Let the good genius, from whose hand no evil escapes, stand at his head.
170. (24.) 'Let the evil spirit depart and stand outside.
172. (26.) '[Two] bitumen [statues] of the enclosure, bound together, set up,
174. (28.) 'set them forth on the threshold, and cast the spell.

4. Cf. IV R, 21b (=Zimm., *Rt.*, no. 54), l. 16 : 2 *šalmê ma-a-ši ki-iš-šu-ru-ti*, and *ibid.*, l. 32. *kišru* is probably a variant of *kašru*. Var. *ki-iš-ru-ti*.

5. Var. *tam* (correctly).

TEXT III, Reverse.

176. (30.) lilli-bi šu-šig-ga dingir-ra-na-šú ġe-en-ši-in-ġí-ġí
 (31.) [*amēlu šu-u ina ka-*]at *dam-ka-a-ti šá* [*ili-šù li-ip-pa-ḫid*] ¹
177. (32.) máš-utuk-šig-ga sag-ġà-na nam-ba-dū-a
 (33.) [*u-ri-šu še-e-du da-mi-ik-*]tim ina ri-ši-šù aḫ ip[-pa-ṭi-ir]
 178. (34.) û-ġè-a šù-šù-bi-ta nam-ti-la ġe-en-na-[an-sum-mu]
 (35.) [*mu-ú-ša u ur-ra ina ú-zu-u*]z-zi-šù ba-la-ṭi lid-din-šù
 179. (36.) dingir-galu-ba-ge ⁴Babbar é-nun-ta è-a ²
 180. (37.) *ilu a-me-lu šu-a-tim* ¹¹*Šamaš iš-tu ku-um-mu* ³ ina a-ši-e-šù
 181. (38.) sub-bé sizkur-ra a-rá aruš-sud lilli pap-ġal-la dumu dingir-ra-na
 182. (39.) ina ik-ri-bi ni-ḫi-i a-lak-ti ri-e-mu šá a-me-lu mut-tal-li-ki mâr ⁴
ili-šù
 183. (40.) nidba-bi ⁴Babbar-ra : *nid-bu-šù a-na* ¹¹*Šamaš* ⁵ liṭ-ḫi : ġe-en-
 na-an-te-ġà
 184. (41.) ⁴asar-alim-nun-na dumu-sag-abzu-ge šig-ga-tag-bi za-a-kam
 (42.) [¹¹*Marduk mârû ri-eš-tu šá ap-si-i bu-u*]n-nu u du-um-mu-ḫu
ku-um-ma
 185. (43.) inim-inim-ma utuk-ġul-a-ge.
-
186. én. nun[-šig]-gar-ra ka-ba ab-duġ
 187. <*ru-bu-u*> šá pi-it pi-i-šù a-na dum-ḫi šak-nu
 188. dingir é[ta : *ilu i*]na bîti šá šip-ti in-nam-du-ú : nam-šub ba-an-sig
 189. tù ⁸-dúġ-ga : ina té(e) šá šip-ti uš-šá-pu : nam-šub ba-an-ag
 190. en-z[ag-meš-ni] : *be-lu meš-ri-ti-šù ana dum-mu-ḫu* : šu-tag-tag-
 bi-e-dé
 191. en-zu-da : *be-lu a-na la-ma-di mar-šu* : lù-tur-ra-šú
 192. gab-ri ġišna(d)-da(?) -a-ni máš sag lù-tur-ra keš-da-a-ni
 193. *mi-iḫ-rit er-ši-šù ú-ri-ša ina ri-eš mar-šu ir-ku-us*
 194. (1.)⁹ gi-urí-gal sag-ga-na : *urigallu ina ri-ši-šù ú-zaḫ-ḫip* : mu-un-
 da-gub-gub-bu
 195. (2.) iá-áb-kug-ga : *šam-ni* ¹⁰ ar-ḫi el-li-tū ši-zib la-a-tū li-ḫi-e-ma :
 ga-áb-šilim-ma šu-u-me-ti

1. Cf. *C.T.*, XVII, 22. 145. In *C.T.*, XVII, 23. 191 occurs *ilSamaš lip-ḫid-su*, but *lipḫid* cannot be restored here because there is no possible subject for the verb, the words being addressed to Marduk by Ea. The Sumerian (an active form) must be translated by an imperative.

2. Var. + *na* (correctly).

3. Var. *me*.

4. Var. *mar* (phonetic).

5. Var. *ša-máš*.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

176. (30.) 'Into the kindly hands of his god { commend that man.
may that man be com-
mended.
177. (32.) 'Let the kid, the good genius not be removed from his head,
178. (34.) 'day and night as it stands may it give life to him.
179. (36.) 'Let the god of that man, when Shamash rises from his holy chamber,
181. (38.) 'with prayer and sacrifice, which is a procedure of mercy for the man, the son of his god,
183. (40.) '(with ?) his free-will offering come nigh to Shamash.
184. (41.) 'O Marduk, first-born son of the Deep, to brighten and bless is thine.'
185. (43.) Incantation against the evil spirits.
-
186. Incantation :—O prince, the opening of whose month is the making of goodness,⁶
188. O god, in the temple cast the spell⁷ ;
189. with a curse enact the spell :
190. O lord (who)—in order to make whole his limbs—
191. O lord (who)—in order to learn about the sick man—
192. in front of his bed has bound a kid at the head of the sick man,
194. (1.)⁹ has erected an *urigallu*-reed at his head,
195. (2.) take the fat of a pure wild-cow and the milk of domestic cows, and

6. So the Sumerian. Accadian : 'Prince, the opening of whose mouth is set unto goodness,' or better 'The prince . . .', as subject of *irkus* in l. 193.

7. The Accadian in ll. 188-193 reads : 'the god who in the temple casts the spell, who with a curse enacts the spell, the lord (193) has bound a kid,' etc.

8. =K. 4625, rev. 6.

9. Ll. 194 to end=*C.T.*, XVI, 38, col. IV.

10. Var. *šá-man*. For this line cf. XVII, 12. 30, and *K.A.R.*, 123. 10.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

196. (3.) máš-gig udu á-dár mùš igi-gún-gún-nu-bi
 197. ú-ri-ša šal-mu im-mir ad-ri-e šá zi-mu-šù ti-á-a-ru
 198. (4.) zi-bi dúg-ga ¹: na-piš-ta-šù il-pu-ut iḫ-ki-ma: bé-in-de
 199. (5.) máš-kug-dùg-ga: (6.) ú-ri-ša el-lu ṭa-biš elī-šù šu-ni-il-šù-ma:
 (5.) ugu-na ba-da-nad
 200. (7.) umuš ^dnin-ḡar-sag-gà-ge máš-gè-ra tù-dùg-ga pa-è bé-in-ag
 201. (8.) ina ṭe-im ^{ilat}be-lit-ì-lí ú-ri-ša šal-mu ina šip-ti ú-šá-pi-ma
 202. (9.) ka-kug-maḡ-di nam-šub Eridug-ga-ge ^den-ki lù abzu-ge
 203. (10.) ina pi-ì el-lí ti-iz-ka-ru ³ ši-pat Eridi šá ^ué-a amēl ap-si-ì
 204. (11.) lilli dumu dingir-ra-na
 205. (12.) anna-gim ḡe-en-kug-ga (13.) ki-gim ḡe-en-sikil-la ⁴
 206. (14.) šag-anna-gim ḡe-[en-lag-lag-ga] ⁵
 (15.) eme-ḡul-gál bar-šú ḡe-im-ta-gub
 207. (16.) [inim-inim]-ma utuk-ḡul-a-ge.

Catch-line of next tablet

208. (17.) [imin-bi anna] ḡa-la ba-an-uš ⁶ [dùg-dùg-ga]-bi nu-šág
 209. [si-bit-ti-šù-nu šá ina šamē(e) zi-za-a-ti ú-na-aš-ši-ru šá] ri-gim-šù-nu
 la dam-ka
-

The signature and date of Nies II, 22, are illegible.

- (18.) [duppu . . utu]k-ḡul-a-kam ki[-ma la-bi-ri-šu gab-ri] Akkadi^{ki}
 gab-ri Babil^{ki}
 (19.) [ina ka-at ^m. . . Mardu]k(?) mâr ^mmu-kal-lim amēl^{abi} ⁷
^uMarduk
 (20.) [^mŠulma]nu-ašarīdu šar mat Aššur u ^mNabu-apil-ì[dinna] šar
 Babil^{ki}
 (21.) [. . . iš]-ṭu-ru šā-ṭir-ma sa-niḫ [ba]-rim šitsi up-pu-uš
 (22.) [. . . a]mēl^rab dupšarrē^{meš} šá ^mAššur-bān-apli šar mat Aššur
 (23.) [. . . amēl^r]ab dupšarrē^{meš} šá kī-rib ^{al}Arba'-ili
-

1. Var. *tag-ga* (same root as *dùg*).
 2. Sumerian has imperative, Accadian indicative.
 3. Var. *ri* (correctly).
 4. For Accadian translation see IV, R., 14, no. 2, rev. 26, 27: *kima šamē lilli, kima iršitim libbiš*.

TEXT III, *Reverse*.

196. (3.) a black kid, a wild goat, whose appearance is beautiful,
 198. (4.) touch ² its throat, sacrifice,²
 199. (5.) stretch out the holy kid above him in the proper way,
 200. (7.) by the counsel of Bêlit-ilî make perfect ² the black kid with
 a curse.
 202. (9.) By the holy sublime mouth and the Eriduan spell of Ea,
 denizen of the Deep,
 204. (11.) the man the son of his god
 205. (12.) like heaven may he be pure, like earth may he be clean ;
 206. (14.) like the heart of heaven may he shine.
 (15.) Let the evil tongue stand outside.
 207. (16.) Incantation against evil spirits.

(=K.A.R., 24) :—

208. (17.) These are the seven who in heaven diminish the portions, whose
 roar is evil.

Those of Tablet 'D' (C.T., XVI, 38, col. IV) are as follows :—

- (18.) [Tablet . . of the series 'Ev]il spirits' copied according to
 its original in Accad and in Babylon
 (19.) [by the hand of . . . -Mardu]k (?), son of Mukallim, scribe of
 Marduk ;
 (20.) [Shalma]neser (was) king of Assyria and Nabu-apil-idinna king
 of Babylon
 (21.) [. . . w]rote (the original) ; it was written, examined,
 collated, read, and acquired.
 (22.) [. . . was] chief scribe of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria,
 (23.) [. . . was] chief scribe at Arbela.

5. *Ibid.*, l. 28 :—*kima kirib šamê limmîr*.

6. Var. *ba-an-ne-eš*, K.A.R., 24, l. 1.

7. Meissner, *Beiträge*, I, 82. 2, restored by Rm., 338, rev. 2, has *a-bi aš[-li]* scribe of the measuring cord' ; cf. V.A.B., IV, 62. 26, *a-ba aš-lam*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In conclusion I have the pleasant duty of expressing my great obligation and gratitude to Professor Langdon for supplying me with the information on which this article was based, to Mr. Gadd for several valuable collations of the tablets, and to the authorities of the British Museum for the unfailing kindness with which they have placed the tablets at my disposal.

Text I Obv. K 5068 + K.7860 + K.7823

Col. I

Col. II

5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
95
100
105
110
115
120
125
130
135
140
145
150
155
160
165
170
175
180
185
190
195
200
205
210
215
220
225
230
235
240
245
250
255
260
265
270
275
280
285
290
295
300
305
310
315
320
325
330
335
340
345
350
355
360
365
370
375
380
385
390
395
400
405
410
415
420
425
430
435
440
445
450
455
460
465
470
475
480
485
490
495
500
505
510
515
520
525
530
535
540
545
550
555
560
565
570
575
580
585
590
595
600
605
610
615
620
625
630
635
640
645
650
655
660
665
670
675
680
685
690
695
700
705
710
715
720
725
730
735
740
745
750
755
760
765
770
775
780
785
790
795
800
805
810
815
820
825
830
835
840
845
850
855
860
865
870
875
880
885
890
895
900
905
910
915
920
925
930
935
940
945
950
955
960
965
970
975
980
985
990
995
1000

5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
95
100
105
110
115
120
125
130
135
140
145
150
155
160
165
170
175
180
185
190
195
200
205
210
215
220
225
230
235
240
245
250
255
260
265
270
275
280
285
290
295
300
305
310
315
320
325
330
335
340
345
350
355
360
365
370
375
380
385
390
395
400
405
410
415
420
425
430
435
440
445
450
455
460
465
470
475
480
485
490
495
500
505
510
515
520
525
530
535
540
545
550
555
560
565
570
575
580
585
590
595
600
605
610
615
620
625
630
635
640
645
650
655
660
665
670
675
680
685
690
695
700
705
710
715
720
725
730
735
740
745
750
755
760
765
770
775
780
785
790
795
800
805
810
815
820
825
830
835
840
845
850
855
860
865
870
875
880
885
890
895
900
905
910
915
920
925
930
935
940
945
950
955
960
965
970
975
980
985
990
995
1000

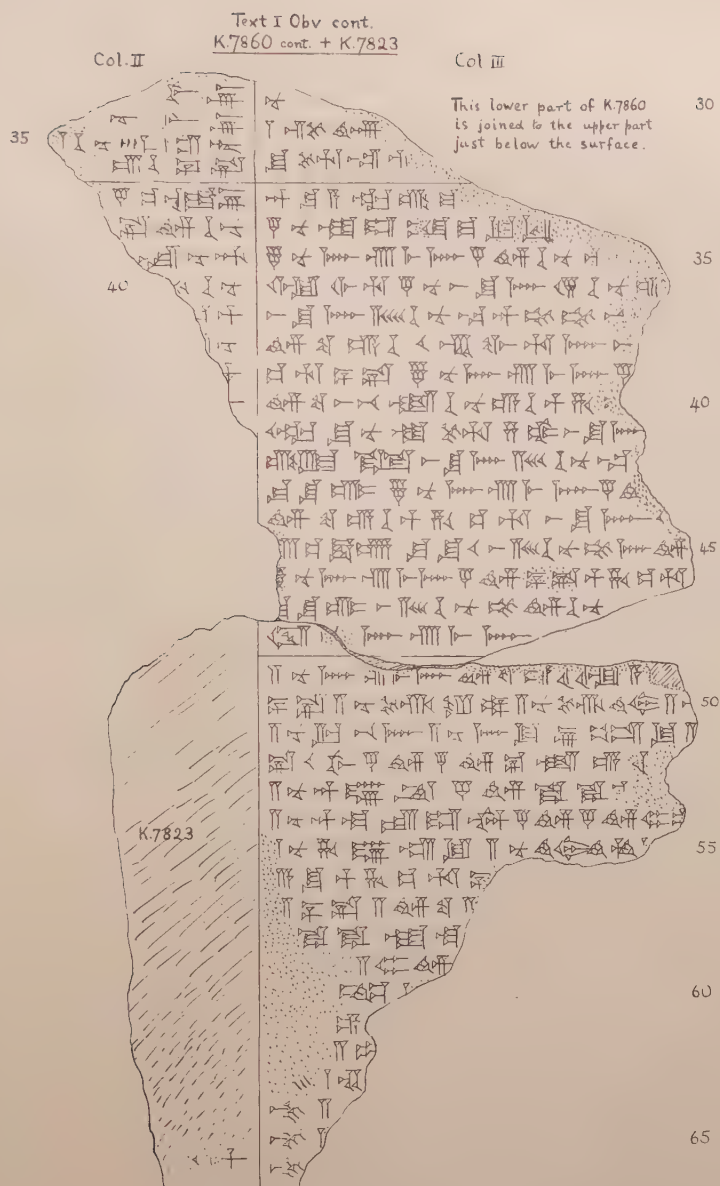
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
95
100
105
110
115
120
125
130
135
140
145
150
155
160
165
170
175
180
185
190
195
200
205
210
215
220
225
230
235
240
245
250
255
260
265
270
275
280
285
290
295
300
305
310
315
320
325
330
335
340
345
350
355
360
365
370
375
380
385
390
395
400
405
410
415
420
425
430
435
440
445
450
455
460
465
470
475
480
485
490
495
500
505
510
515
520
525
530
535
540
545
550
555
560
565
570
575
580
585
590
595
600
605
610
615
620
625
630
635
640
645
650
655
660
665
670
675
680
685
690
695
700
705
710
715
720
725
730
735
740
745
750
755
760
765
770
775
780
785
790
795
800
805
810
815
820
825
830
835
840
845
850
855
860
865
870
875
880
885
890
895
900
905
910
915
920
925
930
935
940
945
950
955
960
965
970
975
980
985
990
995
1000

Col. III

5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
50
55
60
65
70
75
80
85
90
95
100
105
110
115
120
125
130
135
140
145
150
155
160
165
170
175
180
185
190
195
200
205
210
215
220
225
230
235
240
245
250
255
260
265
270
275
280
285
290
295
300
305
310
315
320
325
330
335
340
345
350
355
360
365
370
375
380
385
390
395
400
405
410
415
420
425
430
435
440
445
450
455
460
465
470
475
480
485
490
495
500
505
510
515
520
525
530
535
540
545
550
555
560
565
570
575
580
585
590
595
600
605
610
615
620
625
630
635
640
645
650
655
660
665
670
675
680
685
690
695
700
705
710
715
720
725
730
735
740
745
750
755
760
765
770
775
780
785
790
795
800
805
810
815
820
825
830
835
840
845
850
855
860
865
870
875
880
885
890
895
900
905
910
915
920
925
930
935
940
945
950
955
960
965
970
975
980
985
990
995
1000

continued on Plate XII

RITUAL TEXT FROM KUYUNJIK.



RITUAL TEXT FROM KUYUNJIK.
(continuation of Plate XI).

Surface lost for about 17 lines
Back of K.7860 exposed.

MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON

Preliminary Excavations, 1934

By W. J. VARLEY

WITH PLATES XV-XXII

MAIDEN CASTLE, Bickerton, is the most southerly of a group of hill-forts which crown the summits of the bold Triassic escarpments that separate the basin of the Weaver from that of the Dee. In company with two others, Eddisbury and Kellsborough Castle, Maiden Castle, Bickerton, has been described in the standard historical work on Cheshire.¹ So far as is known none of these hill-forts has been excavated before.

Maiden Castle, the best preserved of the series, is a promontory fort situated on the highest part of Bickerton Hill, which lies some three miles north of Malpas. On the west the camp is bounded by a steep escarpment, culminating in sheer crags nearly 700 feet above Ordnance Datum. From this western edge, the land falls away gently on all sides, forming a heath-covered plateau dipping eastward. This plateau is underlain by Keuper sandstone covered by two or three feet of glacial drift, the product of the Irish Sea Ice in the quaternary Ice Age. The artificial defences of the camp enclose the highest part of the plateau and run in an elbow bend from a point on the north of the scarp to a point on the south. They comprise an outer rampart, some 220 yards long by 10 yards wide, a ditch of irregular contour with an average width of 12 yards, and an inner rampart some 200 yards long with an average width of 10 yards. About forty yards from the northern end of the inner rampart there is a single guarded entrance, opposite to which there is a gap through the outer rampart. The camp covers an area of 14,488 square yards, 2.97 acres, of which 1.59 acres, more than half, are taken up by the defensive works. The area inside the ramparts, and much of the rest of the plateau,

1. Ormerod, *History of the County Palatine*, edited by Helsby.

is cut up into hummocks and hollows, many of which have an artificial appearance. (For general plan of site see Plate XV.)

Excavation in this first season was directed towards learning something of the structure of the artificial defences in the neighbourhood of the entrance. Section A, a trench 72 feet long by 8 feet wide, was cut through the inner ramparts some ten yards from the northern entrance rampart. Section B, 96 feet long by 8 feet wide, was cut through the inner rampart, the ditch and the outer rampart, some twelve yards south of the southern entrance rampart. The heather and silt were entirely removed over the entire length of the entrance and the gap in the outer rampart, but excavation to virgin soil was confined to Section C 1, 75 feet long by 5 feet wide, through the narrower, western end of the guarded entrance. A complete examination was made of the area which lies in the angle between the inner rampart and the southern entrance rampart, as this seemed to be the most obviously artificial of the many minor irregularities which cover the surface of the hill. Finally, a hollow in the ditch, adjacent to Section B, was partially explored. The results of these excavations will be grouped under the following heads: (a) the inner rampart, (b) the outer rampart, (c) the ditch, (d) the entrance and entrance ramparts, (e) the area between the southern entrance rampart and the inner rampart. (For a large-scale plan of the area referred to in this paragraph see Plate XVI.)

(a) *The Inner Rampart.* (See Plate XVII b and the photographs on Plate XIX.)

The inner rampart proved to have been erected upon a level surface of glacial drift, here, and elsewhere on the site, made up of an orange, sandy clay, rich in exotic pebbles. Upon this there rests an inner core of timber and sand, 12 feet wide by 4 to 6 feet deep. The sand is a leached derivative of the glacial drift. The timber is laid in definite layers lengthways, crossways and diagonally, and ranges in size from considerable tree trunks to quite small twigs. The dominant species is oak. All the timber presents a blackened, charred appearance.

Around this inner core lies a capping of tightly wedged boulders, nine inches to a foot thick, widening out on the outer and inner faces to form substantial retaining walls. These boulders are large, the majority being of the local Triassic sandstone; many are waterworn, and though some are angular, none showed definite signs of quarrying. The innermost

boulders of the retaining walls are embedded in the sand and timber core (see Plate XIX a), which is also stiffened in places by piles of boulders (see Plate XVII b).

No dateable objects were recovered from any portion of the inner rampart.

The foregoing description, which refers to Section A, is equally applicable to the only other portion of the inner rampart which was examined, part of Section B, where a shaft sunk through the rampart to virgin soil revealed the same succession of boulder-capping and inner core of timber and sand laid in layers (see Plate XIX c).

We are unable to produce any exact parallels for this method of rampart construction, but we are tempted to suggest a possible derivation from the 'muris Gallicus' described by Caesar,¹ a feature of many Continental hill-forts. The 'Murus Gallicus' consisted of layers of timber laid lengthways, diagonally and crossways between layers of stones or earth. The rampart so constructed was rectangular in section, faced with stone, and the timber-balks ran out into the stone-facing, so that their ends were exposed.² An example of the true 'Murus Gallicus' was found at Corley, near Coventry, a hill-fort attributed to the Iron Age B culture-complex, and dated by pottery to the first century A.D.³ The 'Murus Gallicus' also occurs at Burghead, Abernethy, and Forgandenny in Scotland, and according to Childe,⁴ these three forts mark the earliest landings of La Tène Kelts in Scotland. The principal differences between the inner rampart at Maiden Castle, Bickerton, and the true 'Murus Gallicus' is that in the former the timber does not run out into the stone-facing. Apart from that fact the parallelism is close.

It should also be noted that this particular method of rampart construction is peculiarly appropriate to the materials used. The layers of timber help to consolidate the sand, the stone-capping prevents erosion of the sand from above, while the heavy retaining walls resist any tendency towards lateral shifting of the sand. These considerations suggest that the inner rampart stands to-day much as when first constructed: it is probable that all the materials existed on the site when the rampart was constructed. Sand and boulders are particularly plentiful in an

1. Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.*, VII, 23.

2. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, part III, pp. 985-96, figs. 411-13.

3. *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, LII, ii. 282; discussed by Hawkes, *Antiquity*, vol. V, no. 17, pp. 84-5, and Plate II.

4. V. Gordon Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, pp. 193-5.

adjacent glacial overflow channel a few hundred yards to the north of the camp, and though trees no longer grow on this heath-clad hill, time was when these siliceous glacial deposits carried a woodland vegetation in which oak would predominate (see Appendix A).

The blackened, charred appearance of the timber in the inner rampart is a feature of considerable interest, and as such deserves to be considered here, though it is the subject of an appendix by Dr. T. W. Woodhead (see Appendix A). Professor Robert Newstead, F.R.S., in the course of many visits to the site, early gave it as his opinion that the wood in the inner rampart was actually carbonised, an opinion with which Dr. Woodhead concurs. The unbroken character of the timber, from the largest tree-trunks to the minute twig picked up by Professor Newstead, suggests that the carbonisation must have taken place *in situ*, as it would be virtually impossible to transport charred timber without breaking some of it. Dr. Woodhead's discovery that the carbonised wood is penetrated by non-carbonised roots of modern heath-plants proves that the wood was charred some time ago. The use of charred timber for any structural purpose seems incomprehensible; the use of timber in the rampart on such a scale for other than a structural purpose seems equally incomprehensible, while the deliberate charring of timber during the building of the rampart would appear to be so laborious and pointless a procedure, that we feel bound to say that Dr. Woodhead's hypothesis, that the carbonisation is due to a fire after the rampart was built, is more plausible than any other we can suggest.

(b) *The Outer Rampart* (see Plates XVII a, XVII c).

Section B demonstrated that the outer rampart has a composite structure entirely different from that of the inner rampart.

For a distance of about six yards measured towards the centre of the outer rampart from its inner face, and resting upon orange glacial drift, there is a deposit of clean grey sand. The analysis of samples of this sand taken at regular vertical intervals above the horizon of the orange clay proves it to be due to the development of a natural profile in a parent soil made up of orange drift. This clean sand would appear to be *in situ*, and must be near to the original ground level, prior to the erection of the outer rampart.

In the upper surface of this sand there has been cut a rectangular trench, 2 feet wide by 2 feet 6 inches deep, bounded by wedge-shaped

masses of consolidated stoney clay, clearly derived from the local glacial drift. The concrete-like character of this lining suggests that it was intended to preserve the box-like shape of the rectangular trench, possibly to support something which this may once have contained. No evidence was forthcoming as to what this might have been.

The rectangular trench now contains a mixture of sand and humus, similar to the deposit which is piled up on each side of the rectangular trench. Over this piled up sand-with-humus lies a continuous humus-line, referred to as turf-line number Three on Plate XVII c. Above turf-line number Three lies another deposit of sand, up to the level of turf-line number Two, and on top of this again lies another layer of sand up to the level of turf-line number One, the root zone of the present heath plants. On the outer face of the rampart is a stone retaining wall, comparable in general character with that of the inner and outer faces of the inner rampart. This retaining wall underlies turf-line number One, but the remaining turf-lines stop short of its inner face.

No dateable objects were recovered from any part of this rampart, so that we have no chronological evidence to help us to interpret this structure.

The stratigraphical evidence is capable of a variety of interpretations of which the relative cogency cannot be determined. The truth would appear to lie between two extremes which may be stated shortly as follows.

The oldest portion of the rampart must be that which contains the rectangular trench, which seems to be entirely pointless unless we postulate that it was intended to hold up some superstructure, *e.g.* a palisade. That this initial form underwent reconstruction is suggested by the nature of the filling of the rectangular trench, its similarity to the material of which the rest of the rampart is built, and the way in which the turf-line (number Three) which seals this filling sags over the rectangular trench, just exactly as might be expected if this had been filled with loose material which had settled after a vegetational cover had developed.

It may be that the whole of the remaining portion of the outer rampart belongs to one reconstruction. The three successive layers of sand-with-humus with intervening layers of humus may represent the building up of a rampart with successive layers of sand and turf thrown up against a retaining wall to prevent the whole structure toppling downhill. On the other hand it is possible that the successive layers of sand and humus

represent chronologically distinct efforts to increase the height of the rampart, each turf-line representing the growth of vegetation on the then top surface of the rampart.

At the least, therefore, there would appear to be two chronologically distinct forms of the outer rampart, at the most there would appear to be four stages in its evolution. In the first case, there is the lower structure in which the rectangular trench played a part, and the upper structure made up of sand and humus thrown against a retaining wall. In the second case, stage one is represented by the lower structure; stage two, the building of a sand-rampart against a retaining wall; stages three and four the additions to the rampart of more sand.

These rival interpretations have one point in common—they both imply some reconstruction of the outer rampart.

(c) *The ditch* (see Plates XVII a, XVIII, XXII).

The ditch proved to be neither very wide nor very deep. Section B, Plate XVII a, suggests that it merely accentuated the natural slope of the land: the upper surface of the glacial drift is hollowed out to a depth of 18 inches, behind the inner face of the outer rampart, the true ditch being about 8 yards wide. The effect is that the whole of the ditch and all but the crest of the inner rampart are out of the sight of a person of average height standing at the base of the outer rampart on the outer side.

The salient feature of the ditch is its irregularity of contour along its length. Along the line of Section B it follows a smooth unbroken curve, but immediately adjacent to the south side of that section there is a deep hollow, one of many to be found along the line of the ditch, south of the entrance. This particular hollow was partially investigated with somewhat surprising results.

The northern and western boundaries of this hollow (see Plate XVIII a) proved to be a rock-ledge with a distinct slope inwards to the hollow. The face of this rock-slope showed unmistakable signs of quarrying. The floor of the hollow was the local sandstone, *in situ*, from which every portion of the overlying glacial drift had been removed.

At the base of the quarried rock-slope, and resting in a consolidated sand, there ran an artificially placed group of stones forming a low walling which passed in a curve parallel to the foot of the rock-slope to turn sharply into and under the outer rampart. This wall was examined

stone by stone, and there can be no doubt that it is a continuous structure which underlies the outer rampart (see Plate XXII), and is the northern edge of a mass of built stones also passing under the outer rampart. More than this cannot be said at present, because time did not permit of further excavation.

Behind this mass of built stones the sandstone floor is covered to a depth of as much as 3 feet 6 inches with grey silt, presumably the down-wash from both ramparts. At the northern side of the hollow about a foot above the sandstone floor there lay a small ovoid patch of burnt wood, the remains of a fire lit some time after the ditch had begun to silt up. Elsewhere the silting contained loose stones.

The form and purpose of this hollow in the ditch await further elucidation. Its importance lies in the fact that it was deliberately made, and that as a structure it underlies part of the outer rampart.

(d) *The entrance and entrance ramparts* (see Plates XVI, XVII d, XX).

Prior to excavation, the entrance appeared to consist of a sloping, narrowing carriageway through the inner ramparts guarded by two incurving ramparts. There was a gap through the outer rampart opposite to the entrance through the inner rampart. Excavation has shown that these superficial impressions do correspond in some measure to reality. The entrance may be divided into three parts.

The first part, the gap in the outer rampart, when stripped of heather and silt proved to be so complex in appearance that further examination was deferred. Enough work was done, however, to make it possible to say that this part of the entrance is marked by a change in the structure of the outer rampart. To the north the rampart consists of a mass of tightly wedged stones (Plate XVI); to the south it has the structure previously noted in Section B.

The second part, which would normally be occupied by the ditch, was excavated to virgin soil. Here a foot of silt rests upon undisturbed glacial drift, and the ditch is non-existent. Five yards to the north of this particular trench, midway between the inner and outer ramparts, there lies a triangular patch of built stones, as shown on Plate XVI.

The third part, the guarded entrance through the inner rampart, has a very definite structure, comprising a cobbled causeway lying between two entrance ramparts which sweep round in a sharp curve from the inner rampart (Section C 1, Plate XVII d). The cobbled causeway is

restricted to the area between the entrance ramparts; the few stones which lie outside are not *in situ*. The causeway starts with a width of 10 feet but narrows progressively to 4 feet 8 inches, and shows unmistakable signs of use. Along its length are two parallel grooves worn into the cobblestone forming a track with a gauge of 4 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8 inches. As this track did not exist in the top soil it must have been made before the latter accumulated.

The northern entrance rampart, 30 feet long by 24 feet wide, has a flat top of the same height as the main inner rampart, but as both the entrance causeway and the natural ground level slope westwards, it grades into the surface of the hill at the end of the entrance causeway. It has a structure similar to the inner rampart. Upon a floor of glacial drift there rests an inner core of timber and sand, the timber having a charred, blackened appearance. Facing the entrance causeway the timber balks are definitely canted upwards as if to take the stress of the outer stone capping (see Plate XX a). Around this inner core lies a boulder capping, thickening out on the north to form a retaining wall and passing on the south into the entrance causeway.

The causeway consists of several layers of large flagstones, only the uppermost of which shows signs of wear. These rest on a bed of undisturbed glacial drift, 3 inches higher than that which forms the base of the entrance ramparts on either side, thus suggesting that the floor of the latter had been artificially levelled. The flagstones in their lithological character closely resembled the sandy flagstone in the adjacent quarried area (see below), but none of them showed signs of quarry marks.

The southern entrance rampart, though similar in general character to the northern, differs from it in detail. Flat-topped, and of similar average dimensions, it grades down to a pointed end where it merges with the surface of the hill. The timbers, in this particular portion, are laid parallel to the rampart and are arranged in two compartments, separated by a single layer of boulders. The stone capping is thinner and less well laid, and there is no substantial retaining wall on the southern side (see Plate XVII d.)

On either side of the floor of the entrance is a round hole (see Plate XX b and XX c). These penetrate through the glacial drift to the solid rock, with diameters of 2 feet 6 inches and 3 feet respectively. They are definitely overlain by stones at the base of the entrance causeway; the soil above them is definitely undisturbed, so that they must have been

filled in before the flagstones of the causeway were laid. Their shape suggests that they were post-holes. Their disposition with regard to the entrance suggests that they might once have been part of a timber structure such as is known to have existed in the entrances of various Iron Age hill-forts.¹ Their presence therefore suggests that the present entrance causeway belongs to a later reconstruction (see Plate XVII d).

(c) *The area between the southern entrance rampart and the inner rampart* (see Plates XVI, XVIII d, XXI, XXII).

This area was selected for detailed examination as it appeared to be the most obviously artificial of the many minor irregularities in the camp. Prior to excavation it presented the appearance of a hollow, approximately 80 feet by 40 feet, bounded to north and east by the entrance rampart and main inner rampart respectively, to the east by a heath covered scarp face, and to the south by a low rampart jutting out from the inner rampart. In the centre of the hollow lay a roundish mound, 20 feet across and 5 feet high, connected by a shoulder with the inner rampart (see Plate XVI).

The artificial character of this area was speedily demonstrated. It proved to be bounded by quarried rock-faces on which the marks of tools could plainly be seen (Plate XXI a). Its floor consisted of a flagstone face crossed by quarried fissures. In one of these fissures there was found an iron wedge, which is the subject of a separate report by Professor C. H. Desch, F.R.S. (see Appendix B). This is clearly the tool with which some of the quarrying was done (see Plates XXI c and XXI d).

The mound proved to be a quarry dump carefully and deliberately constructed. Upon the original humus to the south side of the mound successive layers of debris had been so piled as to create a short, steep face on the south and a longer, more gradual face to the north, making up a series of superimposed wedges of material (see Plates XVIII d and XXI d). The debris was consolidated by layers of rubble. Many of the stones in the mound bore tool-marks similar to those found on the adjacent rock-faces. On the eastern margin of the mound, just above the surface of the quarried rock, was found a mass of iron embedded in sand, which when cleaned at the British Museum turned out to be a second quarry-wedge (see Plate XXII).

1. Hawkes, *op. cit.*, gives examples.

The date of this quarrying is of some importance, since if this was appreciably later than the construction of the camp, and if the remaining hummocks and hollows are likewise the result of later quarrying, then much of the area inside the inner rampart, in which habitations might legitimately be expected, has probably been disturbed.

Now this area is of all the places on the hill one of the most difficult of access and egress to beast or man laden with a heavy burden, for there are no tracks leading to this hollow, deep sunk within the rampart angle. Further, the stone itself is a poor, flaggy sandstone, markedly inferior in quality to other and more accessible outcrops lower down the hill. And the quarrying is limited to the area within the rampart angle, stopping exactly at the base of the inner rampart, so that on occasion the base of the rampart rests on the top of the quarried edge (see Plate XXI b); a location intelligible on the assumption that the quarrying was to provide material for the ramparts, or flagstones for the entrance causeway, but on any other assumption possessing many disadvantages. Moreover, the hollow in the ditch, previously described, resulted from comparable quarrying, earlier than the construction of part of the outer rampart.

Yet it is far from certain that the quarrying is contemporary with the construction of the camp. None of the material yet found in the ramparts or in the entrance causeway shows any signs of tool-marks. Though the quarrying stops at the base of the inner rampart, the edges of the quarrying are there undercut, just as they would be if the quarryman was extracting as much stone as he could without pulling the rampart down on him. Finally, the dateable relics found in this area raise doubts as to the antiquity of the quarrying. These objects are: (i) the iron wedge found *in situ* in the rock, an object contemporary with the quarrying (see Plates XXI c, XXII, and Appendix B); (ii) the iron wedge found in quarry debris at the base of the mound (see Plate XXII); (iii) a portion of a clay pipe-stem, found 3 feet deep in the centre of the mound; (iv) a hammer-stone, found on the surface in the root zone of the heather at the base of the mound on its southern edge, where it had lain sufficiently long to make a little depression for itself (see Plate XXII).

The hammer-stone, of the type common in Iron Age sites, has no value as a pointer to date, inasmuch as it was a surface-find, which could have arrived in the position in which it was found at any time from the Iron Age onwards.¹

1. E.g. *Glastonbury Lake Village*, vol. II, H.S. 36 and 38.

Iron Wedge number one, if it could be closely dated, would settle the question, but unfortunately, as Professor Desch shows in his report in Appendix B, it might belong to any period from the Iron Age to the 17th century. Iron Wedge number two, of the same metallurgical character, bears on the face the mark X of its erstwhile owner, a sign of dubious antiquity, and Mr. Reginald Smith frankly regards it as relatively modern.¹ The pipe-stem is part of a clay pipe of the type in vogue in the 17th century; it cannot well be much earlier. It is, however, a small object, and the texture of the mound is so loose that it may well have worked its way down from the surface. The upper time-limit of the iron wedge and the lower time-limit of the pipe-stem converge on the 17th century, and this fact suggests that the only thing that can be safely said is that the quarry mound was in existence then. There is no known documentary evidence relating to the quarrying, a fact which need occasion no surprise when it is remembered that until the middle of the 18th century the hill was common land on which the commoners had right to quarry with impunity.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the excavations of this first season have raised more problems than they have solved, the chief of which is the most important question of when the camp was built. The structure of the inner rampart, if our suggested derivation from the 'Murus Gallicus' is acceptable, holds out the hope that Maiden Castle, Bickerton, may yet prove to belong to the pre-Roman Iron Age. Proof or disproof of this supposition is desirable so that the question of whether or not these invading cultures penetrated to Cheshire before the Roman occupation can be settled.

The evidence already obtained shows that the camp was elaborately constructed and suggests that it underwent reconstruction. It would appear that initially the outer rampart consisted of a palisade set in a rectangular trench, and that at some later date this was replaced by a wider rampart made up of sand thrown against a retaining wall. Likewise the rampart apparently possessed timber defences which were dismantled and replaced by a defenceless metalled causeway.

We are obliged to Mr. Christopher Hawkes, F.S.A., for pointing out the possible analogy between this sequence of events and those described

1. In a letter to Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, to whom I am indebted for the information.

by Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil in the case of Titterstone Clee Hill Camp.¹ Here Mr. O'Neil was able to show that the defences had undergone a fourfold development, starting with earth and timber defences and ending with the dismantling of the entrance defences and the substitution for them of a metalled causeway. Mr. O'Neil was tempted to attribute this ultimate stage to the substitution of the 'Pax Romana' for inter-tribal warfare, a conclusion further strengthened by his excavations at the Breiddin Hill Camp, Montgomeryshire.² It may be that future work at Maiden Castle, Bickerton, will prove the applicability of Mr. O'Neil's hypothesis to that hill-fort.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is our very pleasant duty to acknowledge our great indebtedness to Sir Philip Egerton and Mr. A. A. Shone, owners of the site, for facilities to excavate; to the Research Committee of the University of Liverpool, the Ancient Monuments Society, Mr. W. Fergusson Irvine, F.S.A., Mr. R. Stewart Brown, F.S.A., and Colonel Fairclough for their generous support; to Mrs. Varley, Miss Furness, Miss Hogg, and Messrs. Ellis and Walker, of the University of Liverpool, the party of boys and masters from the Alsop High School, Liverpool, led by Mr. O. N. Jones, M.A., the party from the Liverpool Ramblers Federation led by Mr. Robert Brownlow, Cadet A. Varley, and Messrs. P. C. Brown, F.S.A., and W. T. Jones for the voluntary efforts by which the excavations were carried out; to Professor Robert Newstead, F.R.S., Professor H. J. Fleure, D.Sc., Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, Dr. Willoughby Gardner, Mr. A. Leslie Armstrong, F.S.A., and Mr. W. J. Williams, M.A., for their interest and advice while the work was in progress; to Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., of the British Museum, and Mr. I. S. Double, M.Sc., of the University of Liverpool, for help and information received during the preparation of this report; to Dr. Woodhead and Professor C. H. Desch, F.R.S., for the expert opinions contained in their appendices to this report; to Mr. Christopher Hawkes, F.S.A., of the British Museum, for his stimulating suggestions and interest; and above all to my colleague, Professor J. P. Droop, who in addition to helping with the supervision of the excavations, has at all times rendered me all possible assistance.

1. *Antiquaries Journal*, XIV, no. 1, 13 ff.

— 2. *Ibid.* pp. 56-7.

APPENDIX A

A REPORT ON THE TIMBER FOUND AT MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON

By T. W. WOODHEAD, Ph.D., M.Sc., F.L.S.

Sample A (taken from the inner rampart—Section A). Oak, part of an old branch. The annual rings are clearly shown and the structure of the wood well preserved in the inner rings, but more extensively carbonised in the outer layers.

Sample B (taken from the inner rampart—Section B). Oak, from a larger trunk, and though extensively carbonised the structure is not destroyed.

Sample C (taken from the northern entrance rampart—Section C 1). Probably the same as *B*, but carbonisation is so extensive that all structural details are destroyed.

Sample D (taken from the hearth found in the ditch hollow). Sand with small fragments of charcoal, chiefly twigs and small branches penetrated by roots and fungal hyphae. Wood much carbonised, mostly structureless. Oak ?

The glacial deposits covering the area of the camp provide a sandy, siliceous soil on which at the altitude given (690 O.D.) would bear a woodland vegetation with oak as the dominant tree and having a heathy ground flora, the heath vegetation persisting after the destruction of the trees. On such soils peat does not form unless a moor pan is developed; instead there is a covering of raw humus—the remains of ling, heaths, heath grasses and bracken, providing favourable material for heath fires. When these fires occur in calm, or moderately calm weather, great heat is developed, and not only is the surface material destroyed, but the underground parts of the plants as well, to a depth of two feet or more.

From the diagram of the section of the rampart, it would appear that such heat would reach the timber below and produce smouldering and carbonisation as shown in the samples, leaving the surface bare of vegetation until reinvaded from neighbouring areas.

The timber would be green when put in the rampart as a support for such loose material. It is possible to have used charred trunks left standing after a forest fire, but not to the extent shown in the specimens. I think burning occurred at a later period, followed by the decay of the charred wood. Afterwards plants growing on the surface sent their roots down to the timber, penetrating the cracks, and in some cases pushing through the more friable charcoal. Such roots are common in the specimens sent, and consist of roots of ling (*Calluna vulgaris*) and the purple heath grass (*Molinia caerulea*). These roots are not burnt and in the latter species show their long persistent root-hairs. I would suggest

that burning took place after the construction of the rampart, and this could be due to (1) firing of the rampart during attacks on the fort, or (2) more probably, to heath fires at a much more recent date.

APPENDIX B

A REPORT ON THE IRON WEDGE FOUND *IN SITU* IN A QUARRIED ROCK FACE AT MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON.

By Professor C. H. DESCH, F.R.S.

The wedge is in remarkably perfect condition, with only a very thin coat of rust. The enclosed micro-photographs (see Plate XXII) show that it is a piece of bloomery iron of very good quality. The greater part is low in carbon, but there is a streak with about 0·6 per cent. of carbon running across it. The slag has been well worked out, and the metal is pure.

This unfortunately gives little clue to the date. The bloomery process underwent very little change from the early Iron Age to the 17th century, except that in the later periods water blowing was used instead of natural draught or hand bellows, but this change did not alter the product. The wedge has been made by a skilled iron-worker, of whatever period.

THE BEACON SPEECH IN THE *AGAMEMNON*

BY A. Y. CAMPBELL

FROM the speech of Clytemnestra, *Agamemnon*, 281-316, as it stands in the text which, with minor variations, is presented in common by all editors, it is possible to draw provisional conclusions of no small significance both for the criticism of the text of Aeschylus elsewhere and for our general estimate of his poetic genius.

In Aeschylus as in other poets textual criticism will turn at times in greater or less degree upon problems of 'iteration' or the unemphatic, pointless, perfunctory, and occasionally even harsh, repetition of words. It is necessary then that in this matter we should have statistics and that these statistics should themselves be based upon a text as sound as can be secured. Again, in literary criticism it is fair to recognise a general canon against iteration in this sense. We may say, not only that modern taste is rightly offended by it, but that even among the ancients, who to judge by our manuscript tradition were in general much more indifferent upon this point, the finer and the more conscientious literary artists recognise it as a feature to be avoided. Compare the remarks of Housman, preface to *Lucan*, p. xxxiii.

Now from the vulgate text of this speech, which consists as preserved of thirty-six lines, Aeschylus appears as an author not only strikingly insensitive to iteration, but in general unequal to the task which his choice of subject has here imposed upon him. The conception of the beacon's progress is a fine one, rich in imaginative suggestion; but the strain of description fatigues this poet; it exposes the limitation of his verbal resources, and in particular it finds him slower and more expansive in the later stages of the fiery signalling than in the earlier (whereas he should have been just the opposite), and anxious here to disguise the monotony of his material by an inflated pomposity; while at the conclusion of the

series he simply breaks down, the expression at last reaching the level of literary incompetence.

To justify these apparently somewhat severe strictures, as it would be tedious to review all the variations of detail favoured by the many editors, I will base my examination upon Sidgwick's text, since his is still recognised (*vid.* L. & S.⁹, p. xiv) as the standard English edition of the poet. And that I may not unduly absorb space by printing in the same article two different texts of these thirty-six lines entire, I will request the reader to put his Sidgwick—or other text¹—in front of him.

285-6 connexion vague and feeble; the longest of all the stages is attached by a mere $\tau\epsilon$; and this immediately, without any account of the blaze kindled by those who had *ex hypothesi* to make the largest and the loftiest fire of all; an omission which stands in perverse contrast with the expatiation upon the kindling at later points generally, see 290 f., 294 f., 299-301, 304 f. 287 'the strength of the travelling torch joyously'; I cannot myself imagine a more vapid and at the same time obviously strained attempt to tell us precisely nothing but merely to expand 'the torch' so as to fill out an entire trimeter. 299-301 $\rho\omicron\mu\pi\omicron\upsilon \dots \tau\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\mu\pi\omicron\nu \dots \rho\acute{\omicron}\mu\pi\iota\mu\omicron\nu$, three 'pomps' in three consecutive lines, as Wecklein² pointed out so long ago as 1873 (*l.c. infr.* on p. 124); if this is not 'pomposity' then I do not know what would be. In fact, the energy of the narrator is now obviously beginning to flag; still in this same context, 300-2 $\phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma \delta\grave{\epsilon} \dots \omicron\upsilon\kappa \eta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$, $\lambda\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\eta\nu \delta' \upsilon\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho \dots \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\eta\psi\epsilon\nu \phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$; then just below 306-8 $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma \dots \phi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$. The light was a light, the flame flamed; true, our 'mighty beard of flame' has lost all its picturesqueness and glory almost immediately by becoming feminine, and in circumstances which should horrify

1. Except in regard to 301 and 304 these criticisms will apply generally to the speech as presented by Headlam, Wilamowitz, Mazon, Weir Smyth, and Lawson; but it is only fair to state at the outset that there is one edition to which the more serious of them conspicuously do not apply, and that is Wecklein's. In some places my views are quite different from Wecklein's; at others there is partial coincidence.

2. He repeated the criticism in his commentary (1888 and [Zom.-W.] 1910), and now Lawson makes it independently. Wecklein's edition of the *Agam.* is (naturally) one of the finest in existence, but Lawson had never heard of it; he complains on the first page of his introduction that Wecklein 'provides . . . no commentary of his own'; he clearly imagines that W.'s 1885 recension represents W.'s own idea of the text; and at 717 ff. (for example), where W. made one of his most brilliant corrections, L. ridicules him for an interpretation and text both of which are, as a glance at W.'s commentary will show, materially different from W.'s; the text is in fact Headlam's, the interpretation nobody's. Nor have L.'s reviewers noticed anything of all this; though I would add that I value L.'s edition far more highly than they. [I exclude Groeneboom's review, to which I have not yet had access.]

even a reader sensitive in the matter of syntax alone ; but you can get over that in a fashion, you can construe *κατὰ σύνεσιν* and supply *φλόγα* ; and then by saying that the flame was a flaming one we shall have made up in flatulence what we had thrown away in force. But what did this flaming flame do ? *ἔσκηψεν*. It is the penultimate station, and we now find ourselves reduced to employing the very same word which we have just used for the preceding stage, *ἔσκηψεν* 302 ; but we have still to convey this most exacting beacon the brief remaining distance from Arachnaeus to the palace roof ; what new word can we devise for that ? None ; our poetic vocabulary has been drained to the dregs ; not only so, but we ourselves are tired and resourceless ; we cannot even think of going back upon some term which we had employed for an earlier station ; anything to get finished, the same old verb must serve a third time ; 308 *ἔσκηψεν*, 310 *σκήπτει*. This is what I have above referred to as a ‘breakdown,’ speaking in the capacity not so much of fastidious scholar as of intelligent amateur in poetic appreciation. What began as the strength of the travelling torch joyously has ended as the helplessness of the arriving torch heavily. Line 308 is indeed a fit counterpart to 287, for every single word in it is the purest padding ; ‘flaming, then it landed, then it arrived’ say the MSS. ; ‘flaming, until it landed, when it arrived’ writes Hermann, followed by editors generally, as if nothing could be turned into something by introducing two different conjunctions in place of a repetition of one. Why worry about that iteration only ? The poet who was capable of admitting all those others together here, to say nothing about earlier instances which I have as yet ignored (particularly 289 *παραγγείλασα*, 291 *ἀγγέλου*, 294 *παρήγγειλαν*) would hardly have boggled at a mere *εἶτ’ . . . εἶτ’*. But while concentrating upon this outburst in 299-310 of iterations, I have passed over another serious defect. 304 ‘urged them to contrive an ordinance of fire’ ; well, he has got to say somehow or other ‘told them to light up’ ; but even on a superficial view, this stilted periphrasis has no visual reality behind it ; this is verbiage, not poetry ; while if you are for looking closer, *θεσμός* is by its very nature a thing laid down deliberately and durably, *μηχανήσασθαι* therefore an unsuitable verb to govern it, and the phrase curiously perverse in both terms as applied to the rapid transmission of a message by a prearranged system. Of those who had originally organised this beacon system you could say *ἔθεντο μηχανήματα*.

I do not myself accept these judgments ; but that is because I profoundly distrust the text from which they are in my opinion legitimate deductions. In establishing my own text I have not, except at 301 and 308, been influenced at all, and even at those two points I was not influenced solely, by questions of iteration. But when I reconstitute the passage by general critical considerations, I find in fact that all the objectionable iterations have disappeared from it. I cannot of course expect to win acceptance for my text of the entire passage ; but I hope to convince the reader at least of this much, that any appeal made to this passage as warranting the retention of repulsive iterations elsewhere in Aeschylus must rest upon insecure authority. And of course I should also like to persuade him that the famous Beacon Speech was actually a more finished and elegant composition, besides being more perspicuous, more graphic, and appropriately swifter in its movement, than is presented to us by the tradition as hitherto revised. I edit, then, as follows :—

Χο.	καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος ;	280
Κλ.	"Ηφαιστος, "Ιδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας. φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς ἔπεμπεν." "Ιδη μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας Λήμνον· μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον 'Αθῶν αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο.	285
	φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἡναίνετο	300
	φρουρά, προσαιθρίζουσα κάμπιμον φλόγα·	301
	ἄσσουσα δ' ἐξέλαμψεν ἀστραπῆς δίκην,	301a
	ὑπερτελεῖ τε πόντον, ὥστε φωτίσαι	286
	ἰχθῦς χορευτοὺς λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν, πέυκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος, σέλας παραντίλασα Μακίστου σκοπαῖς· ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφραδμόνως ὕπνῳ	290
	νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγάρου μέρος· ἐκάς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ροὰς Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν. οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω γραίας ἐρείκης θωμὸν ἄφαντες πυρί.	295
	σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη, ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην	

φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρώνος λέπας	
ἡγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.	299
λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργώπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος,	302
ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον	
ᾧτρυνε θεσμὸν μὴ χατίζεσθαι πυρός.	
πέμπουσι δ' αὖ δαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ νομῇ	305
φλογὸς μέγαν πῶγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ	
πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπὲρ βάλλει πρόσω	307
'Αραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπᾶς	309
κάπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος	
φάος τὸδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός.	
τοιοίδε κτλ.	

The transference of 300-1 to follow 285 was made by Thiersch,¹ the fact of a lacuna at this² point having been originally recognised by Casaubon. Wecklein remarks that of this transposition there presents itself a pleasing confirmation; and to that statement I would subscribe, though for reasons ultimately quite different from Wecklein's. In our MS. tradition 301 appears as *φρουρὰ πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων*. Now that, for one thing, is ambiguous; editors to this day are divided between the interpretations 'kindling a bigger blaze than the aforementioned' and 'than was prescribed in their instructions.' Moreover both are prosaic; and the first would probably require *τῶν πάρος λελεγμένων*, cf. *Sept.* 424, 555; and the second is fatuous. It was Dindorf who so happily substituted from Hesychius the phrase *προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα*, a tag which is obviously hardly likely to have come from any speech but this, and which as Wecklein says is unsuitable (because of the triple iteration) while 301 remains in its traditional place, but becomes at once peculiarly appropriate when transported to Athos on the wings of Thiersch's reconstitution. But with Wecklein's reason for this appropriateness I cannot agree; *πλέον καίουσα* κτλ. I take for a gloss *not* on *ὑπερτελής* but on the phrase which it has itself displaced, as often; whether or not I should be justified in making the additional assumption that *προσαιθρίζουσα* had become corrupted to

1. *Abh. d. bayr. Akad.*, V, 2.

2. It seems to have been Paley who first suggested a lacuna for other reasons two lines lower down; so also Wilamowitz and (*l.c. infr.*) Calder; and hence apparently the current attribution to Casaubon of that suggestion, to be seen in Mazon and Weir Smyth; Mazon's n. 1 on p. 20 of his translation glances, I presume, at Calder's view.

προσαίθουσα.¹ The Hesychian phrase is uniquely appropriate here because from Athos to Makistos is, as we now say, by far the longest 'hop'; this stage therefore should become in the description the fullest, the clearest, and the vividest—instead of being as in our tradition the very opposite; moreover, this bonfire to be the farthest seen must be the highest.² But I confess I still find *πόμπιμον* in the very next line after *τηλέπομπον* a serious obstacle; this for an inadvertence is surely somewhat too glaring. I remember that at *Sept.* 614 *πομπήν* was corrected by Heimsoeth to *καμπήν*, and here accordingly I restore for a very common adjective a rare one, *κάμπιμος*, found at *Eur. I.T.* 81 as epithet of *δρόμος*. *This is the one place in literature where κάμπιμον φλόγα* could make sense at all, and I submit that the sense is perfect. The route of the beacon-light is roughly straight to Athos and straight from Athos; at Athos alone it turns abruptly at right angles; in terms of Greek poetry, it is at Athos that it rounds its goal. Aeschylus uses *καμπή* with a geographical application in *Fr.* 30, where it means 'corner.'

301^a appears here in consequence of three separate operations. As a trimeter it was elicited by Cobet from Aelian *V.H.* XIII, 1; as a verse for this speech it was supplied by Meineke, who inserted it after 301 (*Philologus* XX, 72). But following that verse in this position, and therefore preceding 286, it has not previously been seen³; I am now conveying it as yet another rider upon Thiersch's felicitous transposition; for it is here, I submit, that 301^a functions and is salutary. In the other place it is not merely idle, but in the following line its implicit *φλόξ* is none too neatly superseded by a neuter substantive; whereas here after the accusative *φλόγα, ὑπερτελεῖ*, unless introduced by such nominative feminine participle of a verb with sense implying *φλόξ*, is undeniably abrupt, and you have to wait for *πεύκη* to make sure of your subject; with 301^a, *πεύκη* becomes resumptive, and in that capacity is thoroughly idiomatic in a long and *sostenuto* sentence. With *ἐξέλαμψεν* (intransitive) here compare *ἀντέλαμψαν* (absolute) 294. Note that *ἄσπραπή* of a *λαμπάς* is Aeschylean, *Fr.* 386; and observe how, with

1. Hesychius gives *αἰθεῖν· καλεῖν, αἰθουσαι· καλῶσαι*, etc.

2. And that I take to have been precisely the sense of Hesychius's own gloss (wherever it came from) on the phrase. It reads *πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα ποιοῦσα ὥστε ἀνω πέμπεσθαι τὴν φλόγα*, but this *ὥστε* clause contains no consequence but merely a repetition of the original fact; surely read *ἀνω<θεν> πέμπεσθαι*.

3. Weil tried it in this lacuna, but with different neighbours upon either side. For my part I had made fruitless efforts to construct a satisfactory line to precede 286 long before I noticed that here was a stray line which did in fact solve my problem.

this line, the vocabulary of our speech has a general parallel in *Fr.* 25^a *πρῶν' ἀστραπῆς . . . πευκᾶεν σέλας.*

286-9. This is a notorious crux, and interesting both in itself and for certain of the discussions. The MSS. give us :—

ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι
 ἰσχὺς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἡδονήν,
 πεύκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὥς τις ἥλιος,
 σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπᾶς.

But for the last word the *σκοπαῖς* of Turnebus is generally accepted and is clearly right. There still seem, however, to be two subjects ; there is no main verb ; and the sense of the first two lines, particularly of the second, is very far to seek.

The initial step in any restoration of this passage must clearly be to determine the main verb ; for it is here that the field is narrowest, there being obviously only two available sites. Many alter *πεύκη* or *πεύκη τὸ* ; *e.g.* *πέμπει* Enger, a coarse, unmethodical and improbable change adopted by Sidgwick ; *ἐπέτετο* Weil, *ἐπέσυτο* Keck,¹ *ῥῥεικτο* olim Wecklein (withdrawn in *Z.-W.*), *ἔπευκτο* Lawson. To me these last two lines—with *σκοπαῖς*—appear structurally perfect. As to the *τὸ*, ‘articuli vis possessiva’ says Wilamowitz, hitting the nail on the head. But if anything could further enfeeble ‘the strength of the travelling beam joyously’ it would be to add one more irrelevance like the idea of ‘boasting’ ; this is a kind of poetry, certainly, but it is the poetry of the ‘Poets’ Corner’ in the periodicals of last century, wordy and vapid ; Aeschylus, who habitually ‘has his eye on the object,’ never spins out vague abstractions in that manner. The alternative is *ὑπερτελεῖ* for *ὑπερτελής*, and as this change in itself was made by Blomfield the credit must be assigned to him. But I, who would not have thought of presenting Blomfield’s line, arrived at *ὑπερτελεῖ* independently as part of a different process. Blomfield proposed *ὑπερτελεῖ τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι | ἰσχὺν πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, πρὸς κτλ.* Now logically this is nothing more than ‘it crossed the sea so as to cross it,’ and poets do not write like that, no not even in the Poets’ Corner ; nobody ever does, it is against nature. I wanted two things : first, a direct object, and explicitly, for

1. I find it in Keck’s edition, Leipzig, 1863. Lawson in his edition and Calder in *C.R.* XXXVI, 158, following Sidgwick’s app. crit., father it on Koch. Sidgwick in his commentary attributes it to Koch, a critic of a very different type from Keck.

ὑπερτελεῖ; cf. ὑπερτελέσαι γάγγαμον ἄτης just below, 359 and 361 (I omit 360). Secondly, I wanted to get πόντον on the left of that comma; for of this much I am quite convinced, that so long as you keep πόντον on the right of that comma, as everybody without exception hitherto has done, you will never get anything approximately coherent in sense out of the line and a half between πόντον and ἡδονήν—not to speak of what follows. If ὑπερτελεῖ had been read as dative of the adjective, it would presumably have been ‘corrected’ to the nominative.

The work of H. L. Ahrens on the text of the *Agamemnon* is as searching and as salutary as any. I often find him convincing, and in one instance where I recently had the hardihood to disagree with him I have simply had to eat my words.¹ For ἰσχὺς in our passage he proposed ἰχθῦς, a correction as happy as any he contributed to this poem. I accepted it long ago, though even then not quite with his interpretation of the clause; and now I propose to make a further advance.

Ahrens² enters into a full discussion of the meanings of the verb *νωτίσαι*, both generally in Greek and as it had been variously taken in this passage. He himself understands ‘so dass das meer die fische auf den rücken nahm, d.h. die fische auf den r. des m. kamen.’ He adds ‘πρὸς ἡδονήν λαμπάδος ist “damit sie an dem feuerscheine ihre lust hätten” vgl. πρὸς ἡδονήν λέγειν u. dgl., auch Soph. *Ant.* 30 πρὸς χάριν βορᾶς.’³ πορευτοῦ is not ‘wandernd’ but as=πορθμευτοῦ ‘der über das meer hin geworfene oder fahrende feuerschein.’

This sense is only found with the middle, simple or compounded, and in my view would necessitate *νωτίσασθαι* here. Moreover, I have already removed πόντον into my main clause. What *νωτίσαι* means in Greek is (when intransitive) to turn the back, to *retrace one’s course*; cf. esp. Soph. *O.T.* 193 παλίσσυστον δράμημα νωτίσαι. Accordingly, for some years I understood—emending πορευτοῦ into πορευτοὺς or πορευτὰς (from -τής)—‘so that travelling fish (more elegantly, migratory shoals) turned back on their courses to enjoy the artificial light.’ And I still venture to think this far more satisfactory than any preceding treatment of the clause. If the Everlasting had fixed his canon against

1. See *C.Q.* XXVI, 45 n. 2, then G. Thomson, *ibid.* XXVIII, 75 f., then my revised and general reconstruction of that entire context, *ibid.* XXIX, 25-36.

2. *Philologus, Supplementband I* (1860), pp. 488-95.

3. *πρ. ἡδ.* in sense ‘to another’s pleasure,’ as often; but Soph. *Ant.* 30 is irrelevant however taken (I take *εἰσορᾶν πρὸς*=*ὁρᾶν πρὸς*, ‘be on the look-out for’).

admitting more than the minimum of changes necessary to secure intelligibility, I should now be recommending this; but in fact I am not. Negatively, I find *πορεύεσθαι* a somewhat colourless verb to apply to fish¹—or, for that matter, to our beacon, as in the tradition; and the detail that the fish happened at the moment to have other plans which this diversion caused them to defer I find amusing but, like that detail in 301 about instructions which the beacon-kindlers exceeded, over-curious for Aeschylean simplicity. And positively, I have hit on something which I find incomparably more cogent.

If I temporarily isolate 287 (with *ἰχθύς*) from its context, I can turn it immediately into a trimeter, which is, for me, convincing, by the simple process of altering *πορευτοῦ* into *χορευτοῦς*. In itself, to begin with, the *χορὸς ἰχθύων* is a Greek poetical conception; the phrase occurs in Soph. *Fr.* 762 and *Anacreontea* 55, 27; cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1454 *κώπα . . . χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων δελφίνων*; and for the verb we have pseudo-Arion 4 f. *βραγχιῶς . . . πλωτοὶ θῆρες χορεύουσι*, cf. *Anacreontea* 55, 24 *ἐπὶ δελφίσι χορευταῖς*. In the second place, *χορεύω* is often to *dance for joy* (*πρὸς ἡδονήν*²), see L. & S.⁸ s.v. I, 2; I note particularly Soph. *Aj.* 693-701 *περιχαρῆς . . . χορεύσαι*, and Ar. *Plut.* 288 f. *βούλομαι χορεύσαι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς*; compare also line 31 of our play in context. Thirdly, a *λαμπάς* is the very thing to make you dance for joy; cf. Eur. *Ion* 1075 ff. *παρὰ καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς λαμπάδα θεωρὸν εἰκάδων ὄψεται ἐννύχιος . . . ὅτε . . . χορεύει . . . καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι Νηρέος αἱ κατὰ πόντον*; that then is the kind of picture the poets liked, and there is the wreck of another *ἐνάλιος θεωρία*, and this phrase itself, in Achaëus *Fr.* 27; moreover for the connexion *χόρος*—*λαμπάς* compare Ar. *Frogs* 340-53 (observe 344-6), and for delight in torches elsewhere in Aeschylus see *Eum.* 1041 f. *ξὺν πυριδάπτρῳ λαμπάδι τερπόμεναι*. But finally, the creatures that will be excited by a *πέυκη* over the sea are, of course, the fishes; this fact was notorious among the ancients, to whom goes back (and how much further we do not know) the practice of fish-spearing (or netting) by torchlight, called *πυρρευτική*, for which see Mair's Oppian, *Introd.* p. xlvii and reff. there; but for my purposes I note particularly Oppian *Hal.* IV 644 *ἐνθ' οἱ μὲν [sc. ἰχθύες] πέύκης λιπαρῇ φλογὶ καγχαλὼντες ἀμφ' ἀκάτφ θύνουσι*.

1. *πορεύειν*, of the fish that ferried Arion, ps.-Ar. 13, is in different case.

2. In sense 'to (the accompaniment or extent of) one's own joy' as in Pl. *Symp.* 176 B (to drink for pleasure and not *πρὸς βίαν*, Soph. *Fr.* 735); cf. *πρὸς χάριν* Soph. *Phil.* 1156 (where L. & S.⁹ are wrong).

Despite *Anacreontea* 55, 24 I would not read χορευτὰς. Verbals in -τος vary with great freedom between active (or neuter) and passive in tragedy; but in this case not only is the well-authenticated use of χορεύω=*set dancing* ample additional warrant, but we even have the passive χορευθέντ' at Eur. *H.F.* 878 in the exact sense of my verbal.

How does this line fit the context? In sense, excellently; the reason why I think these fish of Ahrens are the fish of Aeschylus is that I can conceive of no more vivid image for suggesting to the audience, and as briefly as possible, a picture of the beacon crossing the sea at night.¹ The object of such a poet as Aeschylus is not to pad out harmless trimeters like an undergraduate but to effect his imaginative purpose. As to the language of the context, I think that this line makes it less difficult to construe than as it stands in the vulgate; for as the lexicon will show, a special sense has to be manufactured for φωτίσαι to fit, not only πόντον as object, but ἰσχὺς λαμπάδος as subject. Reconstructions, however, must not merely be less objectionable than tradition, they must be as Caesar's wife. I do not believe in φωτίσαι, but adopt Musgrave's φωτίζειν; perhaps it would have been too much even for poetic hyperbole to say that the torch lit up the entire sea; but surely now all is well. φωτίζειν is used of illuminating a dark place so as to

1. Prof. W. M. Calder in *C.R.* XXXVI, 158, calls Ahrens's proposal 'a will-o'-the-wisp flung over the waters, to be followed by Prof. Gilbert Murray and the little fishes' and 'an alluring conceit,' but he has no objection to bring against it. The only sentence from which one can even gather anything about the gist of his complaint is this: 'No one who has seen the distant lamp of the Aegean fisherman, apparently stationary on the surface of the sea, can believe that Aeschylus would have used this image, even if he had conceived the actual beacon-fire as travelling.' Of course Aeschylus does not really conceive the *fire* as travelling, though (*pace* Calder, n. 3) his poetical language several times involves this assertion (perhaps most of all at 305-9) just as even the scholastic prose of Hesychius actually has it [see p. 116, n. 2]; what he does conceive, and in the other places describe, as travelling, is the *light*; and upon this Calder himself insists. Now I have no more seen the lamp of an Aegean fisherman than (I fancy) has Prof. Calder seen this note of Ahrens (for he seems curiously unable to discuss it, and if he had read it he surely could not have written the second paragraph of his own n. 3), but from my armchair I assert with confidence that what attracts the fishes is the *light*. (I have, in fact, seen fishes obviously enjoying a flood-light from the gangway of an anchored cruising liner.) All that Ahrens had to show was that the *fact* that fish are attracted by the light of a *torch* was known to the ancients; he did so by citing Opp. *Hal.* IV, 641 ff.; and Paton in *C.R.* XXXV, 107, was merely adding a modern instance, interesting perhaps but not material. But Ahrens was also able to clinch his case neatly by pointing out that Aeschylus and Oppian use the very same word, πεύκη. Our beacon *is*, poetically, a torch; very well, then, as a monster torch above the Aegean it will attract the fishes. Neither Aeschylus nor anybody would go fishing by such a device, but that of course is wholly beside the point.

Again, our beacon is compared to a sun or a moon; and another poet can tell how 'The sounds and seas, with all *their finny drove*, Now to the moon in wavering *morrice* move'; I will wager that when Prof. Calder reads Milton's *Comus*, 115-16, he does not protest that the moon is not 'on the surface of the sea.'

render objects in it visible; Hades for example, see Lucian *De Luctu* 2. Could there be a better word?

παραγγείλασα. The verb is correctly used at 294 and 316. Our phrase is unique; in the sense 'to pass the lustrous message' it would be defensible though somewhat strained. But it limits the application of ὥς τις ἥλιος to the term χρυσοφειγγές only, and this I cannot quite accept. There is no point in the simile as applied to the *colour* of the light; nor is there truth, for in 301^a our beacon is like lightning and in 298 like the moon. Surely the point of all our similes—there is also the 'beard' of flame, which in Greek suggests an ἀστὴρ πωγωνίας or comet, at 306—is just the same as the point of the whole description; the *action* of the beacon, its direction, straightness, rapidity, and power. Even the adventitious 301^a meets this test perfectly; the beacon is like lightning in its 'darting' and 'flashing'; ἐκλάμπειν is the correct term for literal lightning, [Hippocrates] *Epid.* 7, 88. I feel sure that we ought here to read παραντείλασα, which, I learn from Wecklein's *Addenda*, was proposed by Zakas. This results in a good correspondence between our passage and 296-8; here, the beacon leaps across (ὑπερτελεῖ) the sea and (for the sun in Greek poetry characteristically rises from the sea) smites Makistus like a sunrise; there, it leaps across (ὑπερθοροῦσα) the plain of the Asopus like a moon and smites the scaur of Cithaeron. The tense is to be explained on the principle enunciated by Goodwin *M.T.* § 150 (cf. Brugmann-Thumb, p. 566 Anm.) and illustrated further by Platt *J. Phil.* 69, pp. 128-32; the main verb in these cases is not necessarily aorist; perfect, Ar. *Peace* 1199; historic present, Thuc. VIII, 50 and our own restoration; and present not even historic, this poem line 789 προτίουσι . . . παραβάντες and again 1333 ἀπειπὼν εἵργει, similarly in generalisation Arist. *Nic. Eth.* IV, iii. 15.

291 ἀγγέλου μέρος codd. But no confidence can be placed in ἀγγέλου since that is what they have at 282, where we know from Photius that the true reading is ἀγγάρου. Here, then, the case stands almost as if we had ἀγγέλου and ἀγγάρου as variants. Blomfield was inclined to the latter. ἄγγελος, cf. 280, 588, appears to me to apply better to the beacon's passage as a whole, ἄγγαρος (and, by the way, παραγγέλλω) to the stages severally or (480) collectively; at that rate ἀγγάρου μέρος would be the truer phrase here. If any one 'sees no need for change' I will admit that he may possibly be right; but I want to observe how Aeschylus will stand as to iterations here after I have established the

best text I can ; accordingly at this one point I ask to be allowed my way for the experiment's sake.

304 *θεσμὸν μὴ χαρίζεσθαι* codd. This as it stands is, naturally, received by nobody ; the favourite emendation is Casaubon's *χρονίζεσθαι*, accepted by Wilamowitz, Headlam, Wecklein (Z.-W.), Weir Smyth, Mazon, and Lawson. Now certainly at *Sept.* 54 *χρονίζεσθαι* is corrupted in one MS., as in Stobaeus, to *χαρίζεσθαι*. But for my part I cannot quite find satisfaction in the result of *χρονίζεσθαι* here ; 'urged that the ordinance of fire should not delay' does not seem natural ; what has an ordinance to do with delay ? ¹ It was Professor M. T. Smiley who showed me that *θεσμὸν* in this context is capable of a different and a much more definite meaning. Apollonius the lexicographer informs us *καὶ γὰρ ὁ θησαυρὸς θεσμὸς λέγεται, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀνακρέων λέγει* and then follows *Fr.* 58 ; see Bergk for further references. But more precisely still Hesychius glosses *θεσμοί* as *αἱ συνθέσεις τῶν ξύλων*. From this it would seem a legitimate inference that our *θεσμόν*, singular, means 'their stock of fuel.' Mr. Smiley himself professed to have no definite view about the remainder of the line, but here is how I would follow up his hint. 'Urged that their faggot should not — of fire' ; the word required is 'be stinted, lack, fail' ; this interpretation, then, will depend upon the existence of such a verbal form resembling *χαρίζεσθαι*. I submit that there is one, and that it explains the corruption better upon both of two grounds—it is nearer and much rarer than *χρονίζεσθαι* or *μηχανήσασθαι*.

Heath proposed *χατίζεσθαι*, understanding 'that the ordinance of fire should not be lacking.' I find that weak ; I would read the same infinitive but understand it in my sense. The middle is not found otherwise ; I see no reason why it should mean 'be lacking,' but reason enough why it should be used in just the same sense as the active ; not merely because this is so with countless verbs in Greek, but because there is an exact analogy in a verb of similar form and identical meaning, *σπανίζειν, -εσθαι*.

θεσμὸν in this sense gives a picture corresponding to *θωμὸν* 295, with variation of word. On the other hand, while *θεσμὸν* as 'ordinance,

1. Observe by contrast that with *νόμοι* in just this application at 312 he uses a verb which maintains the metaphor, *πληρούμενοι*. Cf. L. & S.⁸, s.v. III, 5 ; yet, sure enough, that is just what two critics had proposed to alter ; most misguided. I note even this very phrase, *πλήρωμα νόμον*, 'fulfilment of the law,' *N.T.*, *Rom.* 13. 10.

institution' finds a parallel in νόμοι at 312, this comparison is adverse to that interpretation, for the resemblance in the single terms is lost in the contrast of their treatment; λαμπαδηφόροι were an Athenian institution (there were three λαμπαδηφορίαι), fire is not an institution but an element; while as to the verbs, compare note 1, p. 122.

Since Weil at one time read (surely unnecessarily) θεσμούς μὴ χατίζεσθαι I suppose that he thought of this interpretation, but if so, why he rejected it I do not know.

305 ἀνδαίοντες. The compound occurs once elsewhere, Ap. Rhod. IV, 1726; but as we have here no οἱ δέ I think it would be an improvement to read αὖ δαίοντες. It is hardly likely that Aeschylus would have failed to think of that, or that the ἀν- made such a difference that he felt he could not accommodate an αὖ.

Ibid. ἀφθόνῳ μένει codd. 'Vitiosum,' Blaydes; I heartily agree. But it can only have been the harshness and helplessness of the surviving expression that caused Wecklein (Z.-W.) to commend Blaydes's own remedy of χερὶ; no scribe ever turned a simple phrase like that into one like ours. νομή means 'pasturage,' 'stuff to feed on' (e.g. Pl. *Phaedrus* 248 B, *Tim.* 80 E), and my νομῇ here refers to supplies of fuel; cf. νομῇ πυρός (the difference in sense—or rather in standpoint—is purely lexicographical) in Polybius I, 48, 5 and Plutarch *Alex.* 35. They regularly spoke of fire as 'battening'; cf. Headlam on '487 ff.' Of course you could say 'unstinted (or -ing) pasturage,' λειμώνας ἀφθόνους Pl. *Soph.* 222 A; and for ἀφθόνῳ νομῇ compare νομὴν ἀμήχανον Pl. *Critias* 111 c (with a corresponding ἀφθονα νάματα below). νομῆς οὐκ ἦν σπάνις in *Laws* 679 A is less relevant, since there 'pasturage' by metonymy refers to flocks and herds.

307 f. The MS. reading, with the single correction of κάτοπτον (Canter) for κάτοπτρον, is πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν' ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω | φλέγουσαν, εἴτ' ἔσκηψεν, εἴτ' ἀφίκετο. ἔστ' . . . εἴτ' Hermann for εἴτ' . . . εἴτ'. Four serious objections have been indicated above, though these are by no means all. The epexegetic infinitive, in itself somewhat maladroit, makes καὶ mean 'even,' which is of course entirely pointless; and πρόσω is feebly pleonastic. My own immediate instinct was to eject 308, for the simple reason that except in scansion it bears no resemblance to any genuine trimeter here or anywhere; it is lifeless, it has no vertebra. If necessary, however, one could even give reasons for maintaining that chalk is not cheese. What happened is surely

as clear as could be. ὑπερβάλλει was taken as one word ; accordingly it had to govern πρῶν ; then εἴτ' ἀφίκετο, a *prose* supplement, was given in the margin or interlineally to indicate that αἶπος was what we call 'accusative of motion towards' ; this was expanded in the familiar manner into a trimeter by the addition of the other type of supplement, that couched in language of the poet (often taken from the textual vicinity), and of φλέγουσαν which metre compelled to be accusative and thus to necessitate the change of ὑπερβάλλει into ὑπερβάλλειν. In ejecting this verse, and in the explanation which he gives of εἴτ' ἀφίκετο, Wecklein therefore in *Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII, 625-7 (similarly his 1888 edition and Z.-W.) appears to me to be right ; but as to his own remedy I can see no positive recommendation whatever, and numerous objections ; for instance, πρόσω after ὑπερβάλλειν seems still lamer before a full stop, and the construction of his 308-9 is surely impossibly involved.

How my edition of this passage compares with the vulgate, or with Wecklein, in regard to general articulacy of narrative and description, I leave it to readers to sum up and decide. I revert to my initial question, which I will now put in general form : if you edit Aeschylus as carefully as you find possible, how does he emerge in the matter of sensitivity to iteration ?

The detailed results in the present instance I did not set out and examine until I had reached this point in this article ; and their significance, as I see it, was something of a surprise even to me.

Many words are repeated ; this was inevitable, perhaps even within certain limits desirable. But it is clear that *in general* care has been exercised—and in the circumstances it must have been great and conscious care—to repeat no word more than once, and to repeat no word at all except after such an interval as would prevent its falling upon the ear offensively. To that rule there are properly only *two exceptions*, and I think it is equally clear that these exceptions were deliberate, and that the repetitions of the words φάος and, in the latter part of the narrative, πῦρ are what I should call 'tonic,' and probably in the case of πῦρ emphatic.

In the following three paragraphs I enclose in square brackets repetitions dependent as such upon emendations which I adopt.

The words employed twice only are σέλας, φρυκτός (I reckon the rhetorical duplication in 282 as *one instance* for present purposes),

[ἄγγαρος], πέμπειν, λέπας, αἶπος, φλόξ, [δίκην], λαμπάς (but 'thrice' if you reckon λαμπαδηφόρων 312), σκοπαί, πρόσω, παρήγγειλαν 294 with παραγγείλαντος 316, ἔσκηψεν 302 with σκήπτει 310. Some of these words are common, some not.

In the list just given I do not count a certain repetition with which the narrative as a whole is, as you might call it, launched; the sense of ἐκπέμπων 281 is deliberately carried on in ἔπεμπεν 283. It is as if one should say 'sent out, and the sending was done by etc.' This type of repetition is a separate phenomenon, and is associated with the fact that principal verbs in Greek are apt to be quite unemphatic; an example perhaps as good as any is 845 f. βουλευσόμεσθα . . . βουλευτέον, where we would say 'and the *subject* of our deliberation shall be, first, etc.'

Observe, then, that the earliest pure repetition is not until line 289, the twelfth of the speech; but that immediately thereon words tend to be used for the second time and to be fetched from about the same distance: 289 σέλας from 281; [291 ἄγγαρος from 282]; 292 φρυκτοῦ from 282, 295 πῦρ from 282, 296 λαμπάς from 287, [297 δίκην from 301^a], 298 λέπας from 283, and so forth.

Now to consider the more striking of the two exceptions. πῦρ is used altogether five times. This is just as it should be. 'Fire' is at once the speaker's answer to the question, and the theme of the speech, of which Ἡφαιστος is the opening word. πυρὸς concludes the second line; but as the narrative gets within hail of its finale, we are given four repetitions of this word, and it seems fairly clear that these are so placed as to be emphatic and 'tonic,' since they form the conclusions of four successive periods: see the ends of lines 295, 299, 304, 311. What follows 311 is simply a summing-up; our narrative begins and ends with fire. For an equally insistent and I doubt not similarly deliberate and tonic repetition compare the stasimon *P.V.* 399-435, which begins with στένω σε and goes on through στονόεν 407, στένουσι 409, μεγαλοστόνοισι 413, to ¹ στένει 432, and concludes with στένουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρόν.

The other natural exception is φῶς which occurs four times: 300, 292 (φῶς), 302, 311. These are, I feel, evidently so spaced—widely and evenly—as *not* to be insistent; but what I particularly note, and

1. ὑποστενάξει 430 makes no sense as it stands, and if saved would cut across all the rest of the series, ruinously, I think.

regard as deliberate, is that both these words, *φάος* and *πῦρ*, appear together flanking the final line. Similarly in that *Prometheus* chorus the *στόνος* repetition is perhaps assisted by *βρέμων* 424, *ὑποβρέμει* 433.

I hope this piece of verbal analysis will not be voted entirely sordid and unprofitable. I cannot think of any other speech in Aeschylus where the temptation to insensitive iteration is so obviously inherent in the theme itself, and where accordingly, if we were assured of possessing the poet's words, we could so definitely test his reactions to this temptation. As things are, I think it was worth while to make the experiment. My own conclusion here, as for various reasons in many other places, is that, with due (and that is very small) allowance for Greek idiom, we should pronounce him rather particularly sensitive to iteration. I feel myself, then, so far confirmed in several specific and earlier formed judgments; as for instance, that at 1065 of this play *νεαίρετον* has displaced some other word, I should like best *πανώλεθρον*; and that at 185-9 *Ἀχαιικῶν*—*Ἀχαιικός*, unsatisfactory *as it stands*, is one out of several signs of serious dislocation in that strophe.

I subjoin my verse translation in order to bring out the general coherence of the passage as I apprehend that, and to determine any points which I may have left uncertain; but in case its shortcomings should in one way or another accidentally prejudice this reconstruction, I would premise, not only that I am well aware of these, but that I also admit the presence of certain small adjustments without which—so far as my experience and limitations go—it is not always possible to make every English line a line of verse, or a line that does not look as if it might have come from anywhere and to that extent play false to Aeschylus.

Eld. Now, who could compass thus express a post?

Clyt. A God; Hephaestus, hurling light from Ida.

Beacon from beacon snatched the courier flame
Hitherward. First Ida to the Hermaean scaur
Of Lemnos; from which island Athos third,
That steep of Zeus, the monster torch received.
Nor did they scorn the far-flown messenger,
That garrison, but with skyward-swirling flare
Launched on her major flight the cornered beam.

She darting forth flashed lightning-like across
 The broad Aegean, transilluminating
 The fishy choirs that danced for joy thereof ;
 Her pine-fed splendour like a sea-flung sun
 Gilding Makistos' watch-tower as with dawn.
 He nowise tardy nor insensate sunk
 In sleep, failed not his courier part ; but far
 The beacon's light flew toward Euripus' tides,
 And to Messapion's watchers told her tale.
 These flared receipt and lit the knowledge on,
 Making rare holocaust of their grizzled heath.
 Still in full vigour, unattenuated,
 Over Asopus' plain, straight as the streak
 Dropped from a beaming moon, Messapion's flash
 On the rock summit of Cithaeron falling
 Woke a new station to continuous blaze.
 Thence o'er Gorgopis' waters shot the gleam,
 And to Mount Aegiplanctus penetrating
 Urged that their faggot fail not of his fire.
 These nobly fostering a great beard of flame
 Point him across the foreland that surveys
 Those waters named Saronic ; thence he smites
 Mount Arachnaeus, our tall guard and neighbour ;
 Whence hither lastly to the Atridae's roof,
 Light not unpedigreed of Trojan fire.

I take it that in this descriptive bravura the poet was concerned to give a general effect of spaciousness and of concrete detail, as he demonstrably was in similar passages of the *Persae* and *Prometheus*. From that standpoint the features which I have eliminated are a good riddance.

REVIEWS

The Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT and ALLEN BROWN WEST. Pp. xiv+112; 17 Text-Figures; 2 Plates. (University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series, vol. xxxiii.) University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1934.

Two generations ago the historian George Grote pronounced the following verdict (in a footnote to vol. iv, p. 494, of his *History of Greece*, 4th ed., 1872): 'Now if Athens had doubled her tribute upon all the allies, just before that expedition' (of Brasidas into Thrace), 'Thucydides could not have omitted to mention it.' Nevertheless, this saying has long since been proved to rest on an unwarranted assumption, for the 'doubling' of the tribute is an established fact, and the Athenian decree of 425 which embodied this resolution is a well-known document, in spite of the difficulties and obscurities which beset it. The monograph devoted to it by Professors Meritt and West, and recently published by the University of Michigan Press, proves in every respect worthy of its theme. They bring to their task the qualifications already familiar from their previous publications in the field of Attic epigraphy, whether written separately or in conjunction, and in the present work both in the handling and the presentation of the material they never fall below the consistently high standard which we have come to expect from them, a standard, in fact, which they have largely created for themselves.

Of the great marble stele, measuring approximately nine feet high and four feet wide, on which the document was engraved, the surviving portion, amounting to less than a third of the original, is broken into forty-three pieces of various sizes, some of which have been successfully joined together. One is now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, the rest are in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens, except for small portions broken off from two of these fragments since their first discovery. Though the original position of several of the pieces is determined by the preservation of the margin at some point, and of some others by an actual, or textual, contact with pieces so fixed, there were still many only vaguely located, and one group of five pieces recent editors had rejected from the stele altogether. The authors' first task was therefore to find the exact position for these unplaced fragments, if humanly possible, before proceeding to a restoration of the text. The measure of their success is revealed in their book, and it must have surpassed their expectations. They confirm, in the first place, the conclusion of previous editors that the lines of the decrees which occupy ll. 3-60 (ll. 1-2 are taken up by headings) had seventy letters each, but in the text, of which

they offer a complete restoration except for a few names, they have shown that certain restorations hitherto accepted without qualms are untenable, for various reasons. In some places more exact decipherment of worn or fragmentary letters, in others the discovery of unsuspected joins, or again the recognition of indications as to the position of fragments afforded by the study of their lines of breakage, all play a part in contributing to a new and incomparably more satisfactory version of the text. The revised preamble now shows that the Prytanising tribe had seven letters in its name (*Αἰαντίς* or *Λεοντίς*), that the Secretary's name had six letters, ending in *-οδον* or *-γον*, and that of the *Epistates* seven letters (as against six, five and nine respectively as given in the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* (*I.G.*² i. 63)). In l. 4, in place of the erroneous [*πέμφσαι τάκτας ὁ*] *κτὸ* [*ἄνδρας*, M.-W. now restore [*πέμφσαι κέρυκας*] *ἐκ τῶν* [*Βολευτῶν*], having recognised faint traces both of the E and the N, and obtaining space for seven letters before the words *ἐκ τῶν* as a result of shifting this fragment one space to the right. The presence of a seven-letter tribe (*Αἰαντίς* or *Λεοντίς*) in l. 3, whereas in l. 34 and l. 54 f. the tribal names contain six letters only, raises a fresh difficulty of interpretation, which is fully and frankly discussed on pp. 52 ff.

The lower portion of the stele, containing the lists of tributary states and the assessment of each, proves to have been drawn up in four columns, each 120 lines in length, according to M.-W.'s computations. Allowance, however, has to be made for the space occupied by headings and totals and for a certain amount of space left uninscribed after some of the groups, with the result that the total number of states is estimated at about 400—a far higher figure than the maximum derived from the quota-lists, but even further below the thousand suggested playfully by Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 707), which some historians have tended to take too seriously. In arriving at their total some admirable reconstruction has been accomplished by the authors, of which a good example is furnished by the group of five fragments (*t, u, v, w, w'* = Nos. 25, 26, 27, 36, 28). These were rejected first by Bannier, following whom the editor of *I.G.*² i. ascribed them to the second assessment-list (*I.G.*² i. 64), but M.-W. have restored them to the earlier stele, having found that No. 36 joins No. 35 by contact above, and by the clear evidence of a continuous fracture-line is to be closely associated with No. 37 below. Further, the contents of No. 25 prove not to contain the fragmentary remains of a clause relating to assessment, as hitherto believed, but names of states in the Ionian-Carian group, and it falls into place in column 1. The debated fragment No. 34 (= *I.G.* i. 543) containing the total of 250+ Talents for the Hellespontine tribute is also re-assigned to the stele, and plays an important part in the evidence for the grand total at the foot. Equally important is the newly identified fragment No. 38, with the total of 310+ Talents for the Thracian tribute and the heading of the list of Euxine cities, for, taking into account the total furnished by the almost complete Island-list (*ca.* 163 T.), we now have

evidence for three of the four main groups, pointing to an increase of over 100 per cent. and warranting the conclusion that the fourth (Ionian-Carian) was increased in similar ratio; in it, moreover, occur more names of newly-assessed states than elsewhere—except perhaps in the Euxine group. Allowing for this increase in the Ionian-Carian tribute the total cannot be kept below 1000 Talents, and when account is taken of the two smaller groups, Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις and Πόλεις ἐκ τῷ Εὐχσεῖνο, for which the editors suggest totals of 50 and 175 Talents respectively, no doubt can remain that the grand total must be restored to read [14]60+, and not [9]60+ as has been almost universally preferred—Professor Kolbe of Freiburg being the sole champion of the higher figure.

To have established this unexpected result is not the least of the services that Professors Meritt and West have rendered in writing this book. If they do not dwell on its historical bearings it is not for want of realising its importance, but because it would involve treatment disproportionate to the plan of the present monograph. Their task, which they have admirably fulfilled, has been to present the evidence and clear away much error and misconception; and if they can find time to undertake the task, for which no one is better qualified, of publishing a historical commentary embracing the whole range of the quota-lists, and the other assessment-records in addition to that for 425 B.C., we shall all be even more deeply in their debt. A. M. WOODWARD.

Zenon Papyri. Business papers of the third century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt, edited with introductions and notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN and ELIZABETH SAYRE HASENOEHRL. Vol. I. Pp. x+177; 8 Plates. (Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, No. 3.) New York: Columbia University Press (London: Humphrey Milford), 1934. Cloth, \$6, or 30s.

This volume, which is to be followed by a second, contains rather more than half the total number of Zenon papyri in the Columbia University Library. Of the fifty-eight numbers nine have already been published elsewhere. They throw much interesting light on Zenon and the society of his day, and hardly any are dull. 2 gives an account of the earnings of a camel caravan travelling from Egypt by way of Gaza up the coast of Palestine to Sidon and from there to Galilee. The Greek spelling Γαλιλα seems to occur here for the first time. 4 is an interesting account of distribution of papyrus rolls, which upsets the view of Glotz, *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, I, 1929, pp. 3-12, that papyrus was expensive in Ptolemaic Egypt after the establishment of the monopoly generally accepted for the reign of Philadelphus. 6 is a letter from a mother complaining to Zenon that her young son indentured to the service of Apollonius had been ill-treated by Olympichus, and explaining that she has taken him away until he recovers his health. 11 is a letter to Zenon from three citizens of Caunus regarding an audience

with Apollonius. 15 and 17 are concerned with the making of *στρώματα*. In 41 Phileas, the *ἐκλογιστής*, asks Zenon that the bearer of the letter, one Metrodorus, may be supplied with a loan, and ends with the words *φανερὸς δέ σοι ἔσται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ὅς ἐστιν*. 54 is the republication of an important text giving a lease and notes dictated preparatory to bringing a civil action based on breaches of the terms of the lease. 55 is a valuable receipt of a nomarch for wine from the Government wine cellar.

The eight plates give facsimiles of nine of the fifty-eight pieces. At 9, 2 the editors give *απαλλασσεις*, though the papyrus clearly has *απαλλασσεις*, and at 52, 3 they give *απεσταλκε*, though the papyrus clearly has *απεσταλκα*. The accuracy of the transcriptions of those pieces, of which no facsimile is provided, must therefore not be taken for granted.

At 6, 7 'to bring about a change in these matters' is an astonishing translation of *ἐπιστροφὴν ποιήσασθαι περὶ τούτων*, which means 'to give attention to these matters.' Notes like that on p. 42 '*κακείνων*: for *και* *εκείνων* by simple crasis,' or that on p. 129 '*πεπορευμαι*: perfect with sense of past state continuing into the present,' are a waste of space. At 11, 10 *ἀντεμφανιοῦμεν* does not come from *ἀντεμφαίνω*, but from *ἀντεμφανίζω*, which is cited in Liddell-Scott-Jones only from Hesychius. At 18, 7 the connection between *παριδης* and *παρειδεναι* is obscure. At line 9 of the same piece the editors remark '*ἀκολου*-[*θεντα*], no doubt. But we find no meaning for it in this context.' At 44, 18-19 *ἵνα μὴ ἀποδώμεθα τὰ ἱμάτια* is translated 'in order that I may not have to sell my garments,' but there is a mysterious note which says 'possibly the translation should be "in order that I may not have to sell my garments,"' which leaves us exactly where we were. The statement on p. 22 that 'the new edition of Liddell-Scott cites a heteroclitite neuter plural form, *καρπασα*, -ων, meaning "flax," but without reference' is false. It may be noted that *κраспéδωσις* and *πρόρρυμα* are not to be found at all in Liddell-Scott-Jones, and that several words occur in these papyri which are first cited from a later date; for example, *ῥύμα* in the sense of 'towing-line' is not cited earlier than Polybius, *ἐνείλημα* not earlier than Josephus, *κτημάτιον* not earlier than the second century A.D., and *προεντυγχάνω* not before Philo. *γελοιωσασα* is notable at 6, 4.

The book is clearly printed, has nine excellent indices, and not more than two or three misprints. G. B. A. FLETCHER.

Accounting in the Zenon Papyri. By ELIZABETH GRIER. Pp. xiii+77. Columbia University Press, New York. Humphrey Milford, London, 1934. 15s. net.

This monograph is based upon unpublished Zenon papyri in the Columbia University Library as well as upon texts which have already appeared in periodicals and in other publications. 'It is the starting point for a more comprehensive study of the development of Greek and

Roman accounting' (*vide* Preface): the subject of Greek public and private accounting is reserved for a later investigation 'in which the present study will be expanded' (p. 57).

The Zenon papyri were discovered in 1915 in Egypt on the site of the ancient Philadelphia and were written during the third century before Christ. They present detailed information concerning the private and official business transactions and the household affairs of Apollonios, the *dioiketes* or chief financial minister of Ptolemy Philadelphos. 'They also furnish valuable records belonging to Apollonios' *dorea* in the Fayûm or "gift-estate," the administrative system of which was largely based upon that of the Ptolemaic government itself' (p. 3). The estate consisted of some 7000 acres of newly reclaimed land. Zenon succeeded Panakestor as *oikonomos* or manager of the estate in 256 B.C. He seems to have held that office until 246 B.C., and to have discharged his duties with no little efficiency.

The bulk of the Zenon papyri belongs to the estate maintained at Philadelphia, and 'through accounts and other documents it is possible to trace the development of this estate from its very beginning to its confiscation by the Ptolemaic state and even thereafter for a few years' (p. 5).

Miss Grier gives a good description of the accounting offices, the accountants and their work, and the method of accounting followed on the estate and in the household of Apollonios. The accounts, while fundamentally simple,—there is nothing in the way of a scientific system of bookkeeping with advanced rules and formulas until many centuries later—seem to have existed in great variety. Not only were there accounts relating to sums of money received and disbursed but also to quantities of grain, wine, oil and many other commodities. Further, much attention was given to recording 'stores and implements distributed by the estate to department heads and to workmen.' The accounts were checked and audited, 'as is shown by notes inserted, by cancellations, and by marginal corrections.' It is interesting to note that the dating of the accounts was a problem for Zenon 'because of the fact that in Greek papyri two different ways of reckoning the year were used'—the so-called regnal year which was regularly based on the Macedonian calendar, and the fiscal year based on the Egyptian months beginning with Mecheir and ending with the last day of Tybi (p. 22). Zenon finally chose the regnal year, *i.e.* 'the financial year depending upon the type of document to be dated.'

In Section III of the monograph, perhaps the most important for the Egyptologist, Miss Grier gives the texts, along with her notes and comments, of two unpublished Zenon papyri now in the library of Columbia University. Section IV is devoted to an examination of the accounts of money received and expended by Apollonios and by Zenon. 'It was often difficult to collect the money which was owing from debts or sales because money did not circulate freely in Ptolemaic Egypt at this

time'; and, we are further told, 'the accounts of raw materials for this period are more numerous than the money accounts.' The money accounts—*i.e.* those accounts in which reckoning is in terms of a money of account apart from their intrinsic interest—illustrate the great number of details involved in the work of managing the estate. They also throw some light on Egyptian trade at the time, and the trade relations promoted by Apollonios between Egypt and the provinces. From the accounts of materials—*i.e.* accounts in which no money of account is used—examined in Section V, 'much is learned of the itineraries and especially of the method of supplying and out-fitting large parties while they were actually on route' (p. 46). Reference is also made to debts both in money and in kind contracted by tenant farmers as well as to rents paid to Apollonios and to Zenon for loans of herds and flocks of live stock. Large herds of pigs were apparently 'rented' and 'the rent was usually collected yearly by means of a payment of a fixed number of small pigs' (p. 52). Goats were also rented, but here the annual rent was collected partly in money and partly in kind. Finally in a short section (VI), Miss Grier expresses the opinion that: 'A comparison of the most important extant financial records of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt and of the demotic versions of documents belonging to the Zenon archive of the third century with the accounts and records written in Greek during the Ptolemaic period shows clearly that the whole method of approach was different in each case.' She concludes, and on the evidence we think rightly, 'that the system of accounting in the Ptolemaic state of the third century was certainly not an Egyptian institution, nor was it partly Greek with Egyptian elements. The actual accounting system and phraseology were distinctly Greek. The whole systematic approach is characteristic of Greek business methods and of Greek intellect.' The promised work on Greek public and private accounting, to which reference was made at the beginning of this review, will be awaited with interest.

The monograph is fully annotated. There is a complete glossary of the accounting terms used in the Zenon papyri based on Preisigke's *Wörterbuch* and *Fachwörter* as well as some five pages of indices. There is also a good bibliography.

R. A. MACDONALD.

Lekythos, Archäologische, Sprachliche und Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von L. J. ELFERINK, Assistant am Archäologisch-historischen Institut der Universität von Amsterdam (Allard Pierson Stichting, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Archaeologisch-Historische Bijdragen uitgegeven door Prof. Dr. G. A. S. Snijder en Prof. Dr. D. Cohen, II), N. V. Noord-Hollandische Uitgevers-mij., Amsterdam, 1934: viii+90 pp.; 24 illustrations on 8 plates; 4 tables. Bound, 4-90 florins.

The author maintains that the *λήκυθος*, as known from existing specimens, is descended from the ostrich-egg rhyton, and that the word

λήκυθος is related to the word λέκιθος, both words being pre-Greek ('Aegean') and compounded of the elements *lā-* (*lā-lē-*) and *k^uith-o-s* (*k^uuth-o-s*). He finds the *lā-* prefix in proper names collected by Sundvall from Asia Minor, in 'Proto-Hattie,' and in living Caucasian languages. The other element he finds in Lat. *vitellus*, in Etruscan names (*Vitulasius*, etc.), and in a number of Greek words which he conjectures to be of 'Aegean' origin, e.g. κύτος, κόττανα, κυττοί, κῶθα, κῶθων, etc. His argument is based on knowledge of much valuable work done by others, coupled with a very great inability to use his knowledge or to distinguish between the probable and the improbable; in consequence, his conclusions are worthless.

The remainder (nearly half) of the book, in which an endeavour is made to show that the ostrich-egg rhyton is a symbol of child-birth and of the origin of the world, is no less fantastic and unsatisfactory than the first part. It is to be regretted that the author and his friends should have expended so much for so little. R. MCKENZIE.

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition: Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus, 1927-31. By EINAR GJERSTAD, JOHN LINDROS, ERIK SJÖQUIST, and ALFRED WESTHOLM. Vol. I. Text and Plates. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Stockholm. Victor Petterson's Bokindustriaktiebolag, Stockholm, 1934.

The archaeological world owes a great debt to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, and in particular to Dr. Einar Gjerstad, who was not only the instigator of the expedition but the director of its activities, for its well-organised attempt to supply at long last a firm foundation of knowledge ascertained by proof for the great mass of Cypriote antiquities, the pedigreeless products of illicit explorations indulged in unchecked since the days of Cesnola and before, which have been the despair of all scientifically-minded archaeologists.

The scheme has been ambitious, to find, if it were still possible, untouched sites for each of the many periods of the occupation of the island from the Stone Age to the Roman era, and more than one site for each, and by excavations carried out with all the care demanded by modern ideals and the skill taught by past experience to produce a body of facts that shall be a criterion by which any Cypriote antiquities may be measured and judged.

The scheme has been carried out and the results are now being made public. The publication will be completed in four volumes: three volumes descriptive of the work and the finds, each with its volume of plates, and a fourth volume presenting the conclusions of the excavators.

The first volume, which has now appeared, contains an account of the work and the finds at fifteen sites in nine localities, ten of which sites are cemeteries, three settlements, one a set of sanctuaries, and one a fortress. One set of tombs is Hellenistic and one tomb is of the Cypro-

Archaic period, but the other sites are prehistoric, ranging from pre-Neolithic to late Cypriote.

The meticulous care with which the facts discovered are presented commands unstinted admiration; there is no list, there is no table, no map, plan, or drawing and no photograph that is not put before us. The only thing to regret is that for aesthetic reasons the plates are not provided with a scale, and the reader has to turn to the lists of objects for information as to size.

I am inclined to think that it was a tactical error not to hold up the publication until the volume of conclusions is ready. For I take it that this volume is not meant to be read at a stretch; it is meant to be referred to, to supply on demand proof of the conclusions to be set forth in Volume IV. Standing alone it will be killed as a book by its excess of virtue; for the meticulous detail is displayed in such multiplicity as to make it almost unreadable and provoke the scoffer to cry 'Can these dry bones live?'—a question not to be asked.

J. P. DROOP.

Notes on the History of Ancient Roads and their Construction. By R. J. FORBES. Allard Pierson Stichting, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Archaeologisch-Historische Bijdragen III. N. V. Noord-Hollandische Uitgevers-mij., Amsterdam, 1934.

This appears to be a useful book. It is only necessary to turn to the desired chapter to learn all that is known of the roads and methods of road building in any part of the ancient world, or—if that perhaps is an exaggeration—to learn where to find the information, for to each chapter is attached its own bibliography. The book is very clearly illustrated with admirable sections and maps. The chapters dealing with specific regions are prefaced for the purpose of comparison by an outline of modern road construction (chap. III), before which come two chapters on the natural and human elements in road making, which bind the separate sections into a philosophic whole. The longest chapter is naturally that dealing with Rome, the material being more abundant, but there is perhaps a greater interest in the sections on the prehistoric roads in Europe and in the details given of the early roads in India as revealed in the recent excavations at Mohenjo Daro.

J. P. DROOP.

Iraq. Vol. I; Part 2. November 1934. Issued half-yearly. Published by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq. (Gertrude Bell Memorial.) Price 18s. net.

We welcome the appearance of a new journal devoted to the past, the organ of the British School in Iraq, and all the more cordially because it supplies a need that has we imagine become increasingly felt since

the establishment of that School. Yet we feel that this cordial welcome shows magnanimity since, if the new venture has the success that the number before us seems to promise, the likelihood that Dr. Campbell Thompson will send further accounts of his Mesopotamian activities to the *Liverpool Annals* would seem to be small.

The scope of the journal, though geographically narrow (Iraq and, in a lesser degree, the neighbouring countries), is in interest delightfully wide, ranging through art, religion, social life, law, geography, and natural history from the earliest times to A.D. 1700. The part under notice makes good use of this wide range, containing papers on Pre-historic Pottery at Carchemish, two Mesopotamian daggers of the 12th century B.C., a rock-carved tomb of Achaeminian affinities, Sassanian-Parthian remains in Central Mesopotamia, Mandaeen Writings, and a Tammuz Ritual in Kurdistan.

The format is good. The only point for regret is that the system adopted of printing half-tone illustrations as figures in the text, however convenient, necessitates the use of a semi-leaded paper which must be a compromise, unattractive for type and not the best possible for half-tones. But we like the plan of printing plates among the letterpress.

J. P. DROOP.

Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. By DOROTHY BURR. Pp. 1-86, Plates I-XLII. Printed by Adolf Holzhausens Nachfolger, Vienna. 1934.

This work is based on a study of material much wider than the Boston collection from Myrina, and the chronological and stylistic conclusions carry corresponding weight. It is on the whole a melancholy story of how the followers of the Tanagra tradition at Myrina from their beginnings in the third century B.C. rose to excellence for a short period of seventy years in the second century, began to fall from grace about 130 B.C., and fell more rapidly after 60 B.C., till their wares practically ceased after the second destructive earthquake in A.D. 106.

The illustrations are adequate, and the author has shown a nice discrimination in choosing the all too few examples that are worthy of collotype.

J. P. DROOP.

The Stamped Amphora Handles found in the American Excavations in the Athenian Agora, 1931-32. By VIRGINIA GRACE. *Hesperia*, Vol. III, No. 3. Pp. 198-310. Plates I-II and many text figures. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1934.

This is an admirable piece of work—comparable in its importance with Bushe Fox's first classification of the rims of mortaria found in Roman Britain. The cases are very parallel. We have two classes of common objects not sufficiently intriguing in themselves to have engaged

more than the passing interest of archaeologists, yet from the very frequency of their occurrence potentially of the greatest value to excavators, if only they can be dated.

The material in this volume, nearly three hundred stamped handles the majority from stratified deposits, shows that stamped jars were imported to Athens from Thasos from the end of the fifth century B.C. down to the end of the third, from Rhodes from the early third till late in the second century, and from Knidos from early in the third till well on in the first century B.C., and probably on into the Roman imperial period. The changes in the form of handle, both local and chronological, are set down, and the whole work is arranged so as to be of the greatest possible use as a work of reference. One's only complaint—or rather, regret—is that so many of the inscriptions should not be readily legible in the photographs. It is, of course, the habit of such stamps, often worn and often badly impressed, to be difficult to read. And it is clear that due attention has been given to lighting by the photographer. Possibly if the photographs were taken from a cast or squeeze the results would be better. Still, as they are they should serve their purpose as a means of identification. All excavators of classical Greek sites owe a debt of gratitude to Miss Grace for this excellent work.

J. P. DROOP.

Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society. (Hon. Sec.: Class Libraries Office, University of Liverpool.) Third Series. Vol. XIV; Part 2. 1935.

The Gypsy Lore Society has had a chequered career: a first period from 1888 to 1892, a revival in 1907, a second collapse caused by the war, and a second revival fifteen years ago. We see, however, from the contents of the present number of its journal that the Society is a plant that has quite outgrown its early delicacy, and, though from its nature it may never grow very tall, has reached a maturity of gratifying sturdiness, gaining support from roots spread as widely over Europe as the wanderings of the Gypsies themselves. The number contains four main articles: I. *The Evolution of the Gypsy Theatre in the U.S.S.R.*, by Marie Seton; II. *Ciganismes en Français*, par Gaston Esnault; III. *Contributions to the Study of the Serbian Gypsies*, No. 2, by Dr. Alexander Petrović; and IV. *Hans Sachs and Grimmelshausen on the Gypsies*, by E. O. Winstedt.

To a reader, who is not of the elect, whose blood is too cold to beat the faster at knowing how many calories nourish a Serbian Gypsy, or how many French words of doubtful etymology may be ascribed to Gypsy sources, the most interesting papers are Nos. I and IV. In No. IV the interest lies in seeing that the general notion of a Gypsy held by a sixteenth-century German was very much the general notion held by the uninformed to-day, while in No. I a problem is set by the author's evident approval of the Soviet scheme by which some Russian Gypsies are driven

into a form of activity that is confessedly entirely foreign to their racial genius.

These articles are followed by a number of reviews, and by a section of notes and queries which are not the least interesting part of the volume. Among them is a vivid account of a travelling circus-troop seen in Constantinople in 1322 by the Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras. The claim made by two German writers that the performers were Gypsies is, however, held to be not proven. J. P. DROOP.

Rebel Destiny. By MELVILLE and FRANCES HERSKOVITS. Pp. 366. McGraw Hill Publishing Co. Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.

This book, of which the enigmatic title appears to derive from the fact that it deals with an independent people whose ancestors were runaway slaves, has several interesting features.

It introduces in the first place to a community hitherto little studied, the Saramacca tribe of the Bush Negroes who inhabit the upper reaches of the Suriname River in the interior of Dutch Guiana; it is important in the second for all students of West African culture and its derivatives as well as for those who, like Professor and Mrs. Herskovits, are particularly interested in the fate of the negro of the New World: and it essays in the third a successful popularisation of anthropological material calculated to appeal to the general reader.

As the authors reserve the scientific discussion of their data till its publication in monographic form, a critical evaluation is perhaps hardly called for at this juncture; but any one who reads the book will get an extraordinarily vivid impression of life amongst the Saramacca in all its phases.

The negroes whose culture is described are the descendants of runaway slaves, some of whom had already established themselves in the bush by the end of the seventeenth century. Since they gained their freedom by treaty with their Dutch masters they have lived in an isolation so relatively complete that the Bush is, as the authors remark, still 'Africa of the seventeenth century.' The reader already equipped with an understanding of the principles and methods of cultural analysis and comparative anthropological study will appreciate the art with which the book is written. An attempt is made, in part through the reporting of conversations, to convey the *Weltanschauung* of the negro, and there is an interesting chapter on the folk-tale, some discussion of the highly symbolical character of native art, and a final chapter on the Saramaccan 'obia' which appears to be of an unusually benign type. The life-cycle of the individual, material culture, and social organisation are all adequately dealt with. The whole treatment is lively, the book is eminently readable, and a word of commendation is due for the interesting photographs which illustrate it. E. I. BLACK.

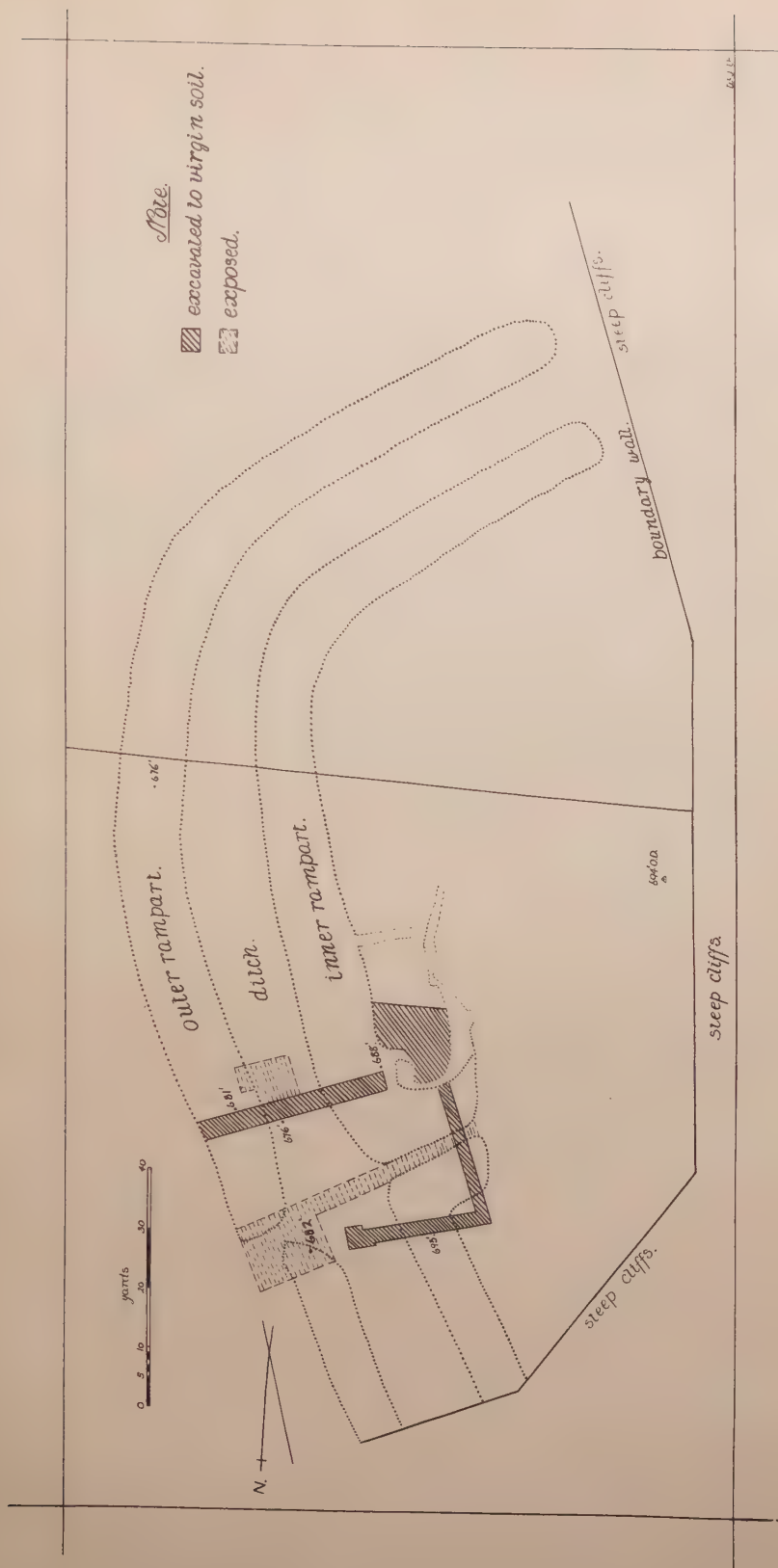
Sex and Culture. By J. D. UNWIN. Pp. 676. Oxford University Press. Price 36s.

The general thesis presented by Dr. Unwin in this elaborate and carefully documented study is to the effect that the social energy of a civilisation varies with the rigidity of its standards in the matter of sexual relationships, the most vigorous civilisations, or those at the height of their power, being those in which moral standards as measured in terms of pre-nuptial and post-nuptial continence are most exacting. Dr. Unwin sets out, as he tells us, to test by reference to cultural data the assumption of certain analytical psychologists that civilisation has been built up by compulsory sacrifices in the gratification of innate desires. His enquiry is conducted with considerable ingenuity; and corroborative evidence is presented on the basis of a careful and critical study of the available literature relating to eighty primitive societies, and a less detailed review of the relevant evidence for certain more advanced civilisations. The study may in fact be regarded from one point of view as an elaborate essay in correlation, and as such is of interest to the student of methodology as well as to the general sociologist.

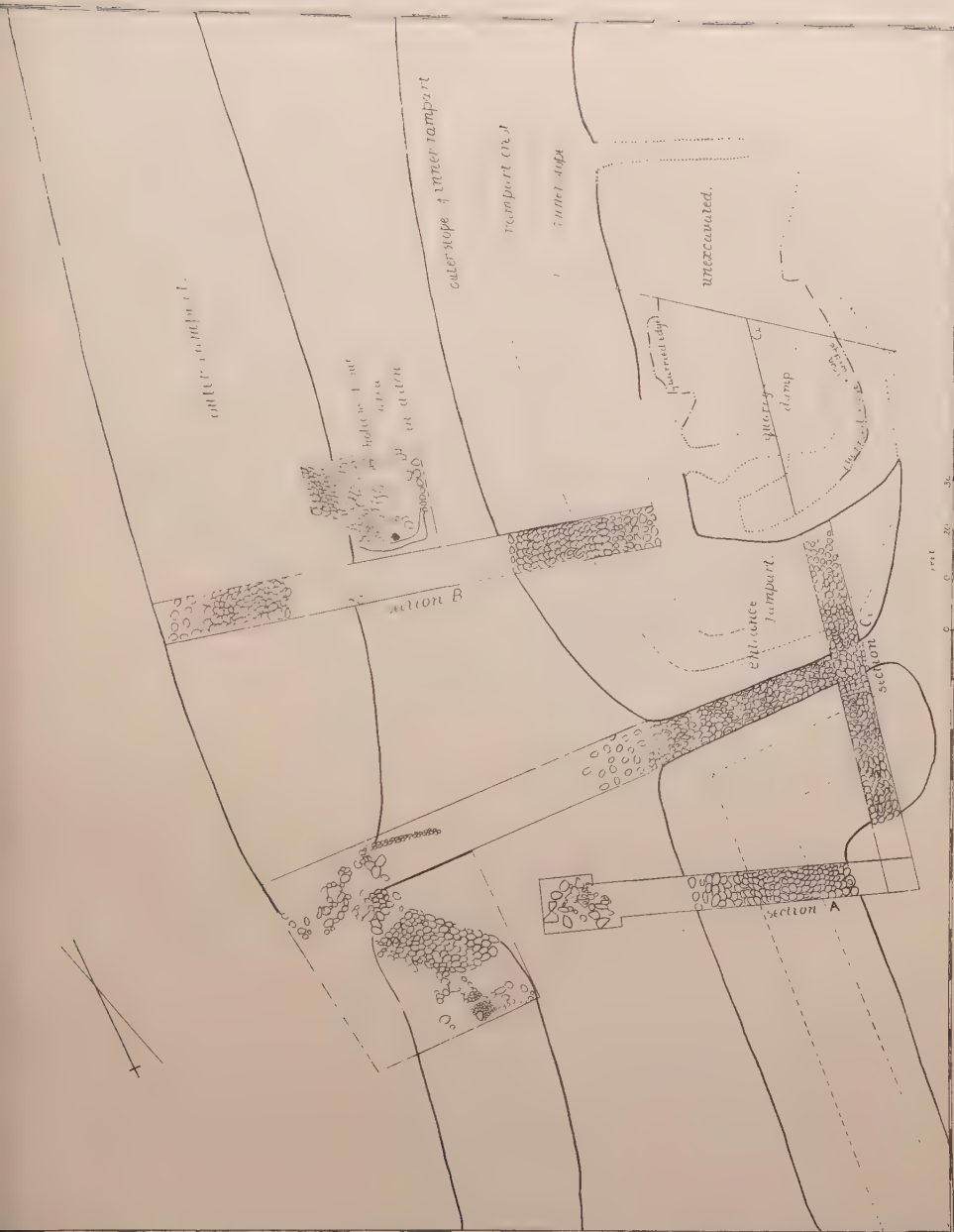
It is impossible to do justice to the whole argument in so short a space: the author breaks new ground to some extent, and his work is in many respects suggestive. He points out that there is apparently a close relationship between 'sexual opportunity' and the general level of culture; but while it may indeed be true that self-control in matters of sex is one mark of a high stage of civilisation, to suggest, as he does, that the limitation of sexual opportunity is the immediate 'cause' of social energy (even in the restricted sense of being 'an indispensable contributory factor') is surely to underestimate the subtlety and complexity of a connecting process which must have entailed a number of different steps involving adaptation and re-adaptation of function at many points in the social organism, and of parts in relation to the changing whole.

Dr. Unwin concludes his study by hinting that the rigorous civilisations of the future will be those in which the sexes are on a footing of complete legal equality, and in which social and economic institutions are such as 'to render it both possible and tolerable for sexual opportunity to remain at a minimum for an extended period, and even for ever.'

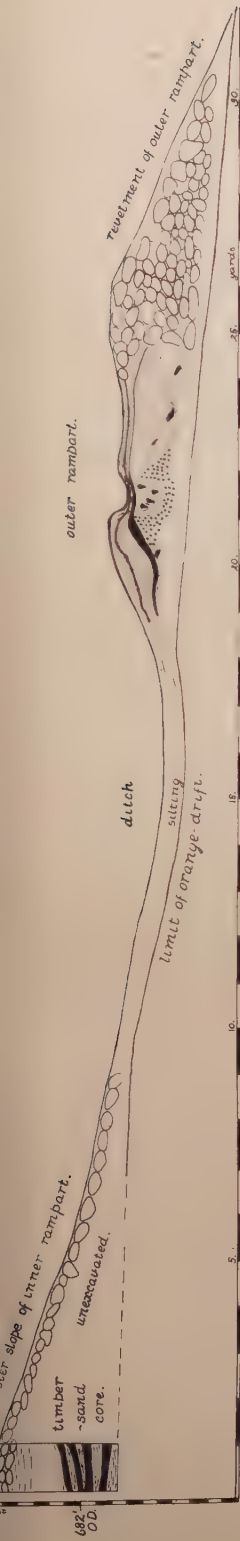
E. I. BLACK.



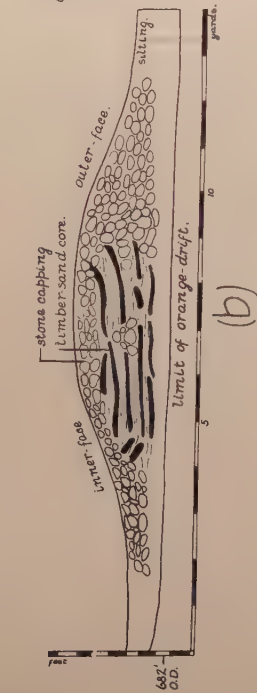
GENERAL PLAN OF MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON.



MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON.
LARGE SCALE PLAN OF THE AREA EXCAVATED IN 1934.



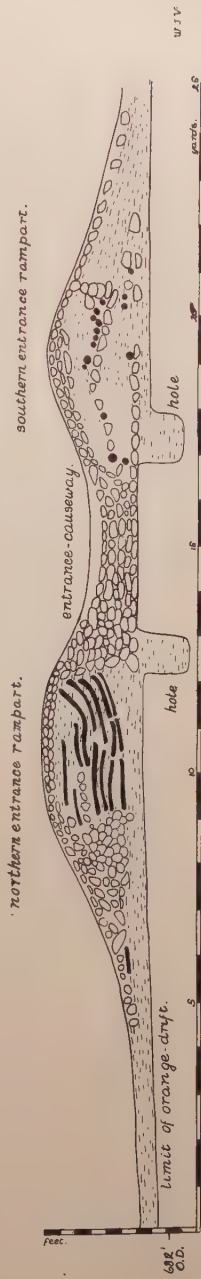
(a)



(b)



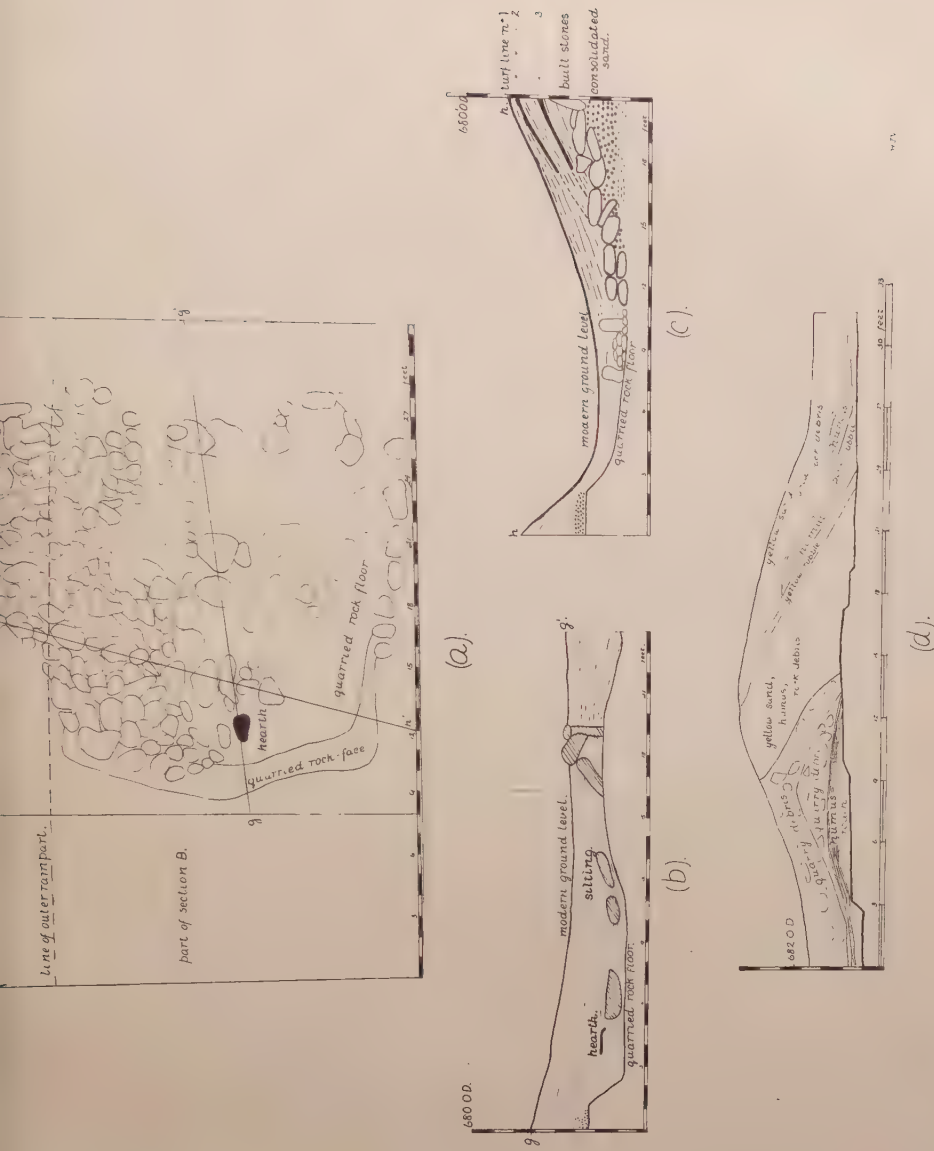
(c)



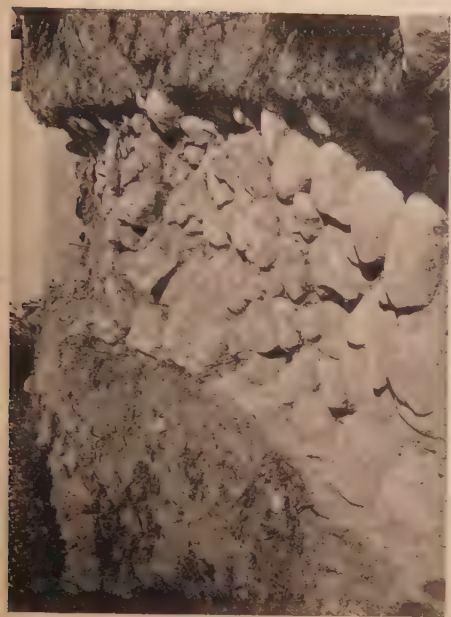
(d)

MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON.

- (a) SECTION B. (INNER AND OUTER RAMPARTS AND DITCH). (b) SECTION B. (INNER RAMPART).
(c) AN ENLARGED PORTION OF SECTION B (OUTER RAMPART). (d) SECTION C1. (ENTRANCE RAMPARTS AND ENTRANCE CAUSEWAY)



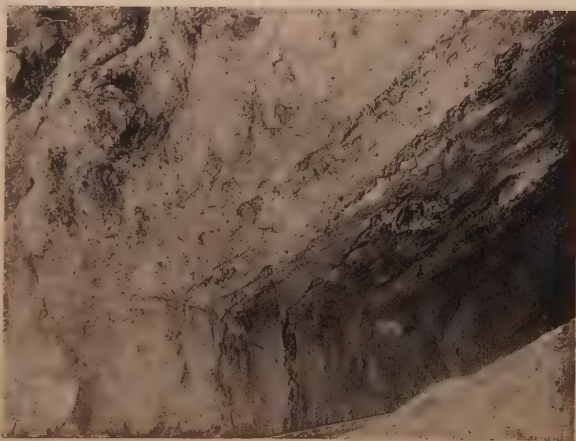
MAIDEN CASTLE BICKERTON.
 (a) THE DITCH-HOLLOW. (b) SECTION g-g' (ACROSS THE DITCH-HOLLOW). (c) SECTION H-H' (ACROSS THE DITCH-HOLLOW).
 (d) SECTION c2 (THE QUARRY-DUMP).



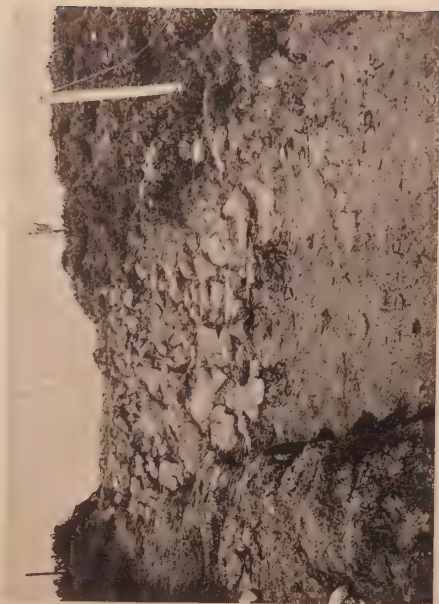
a



b

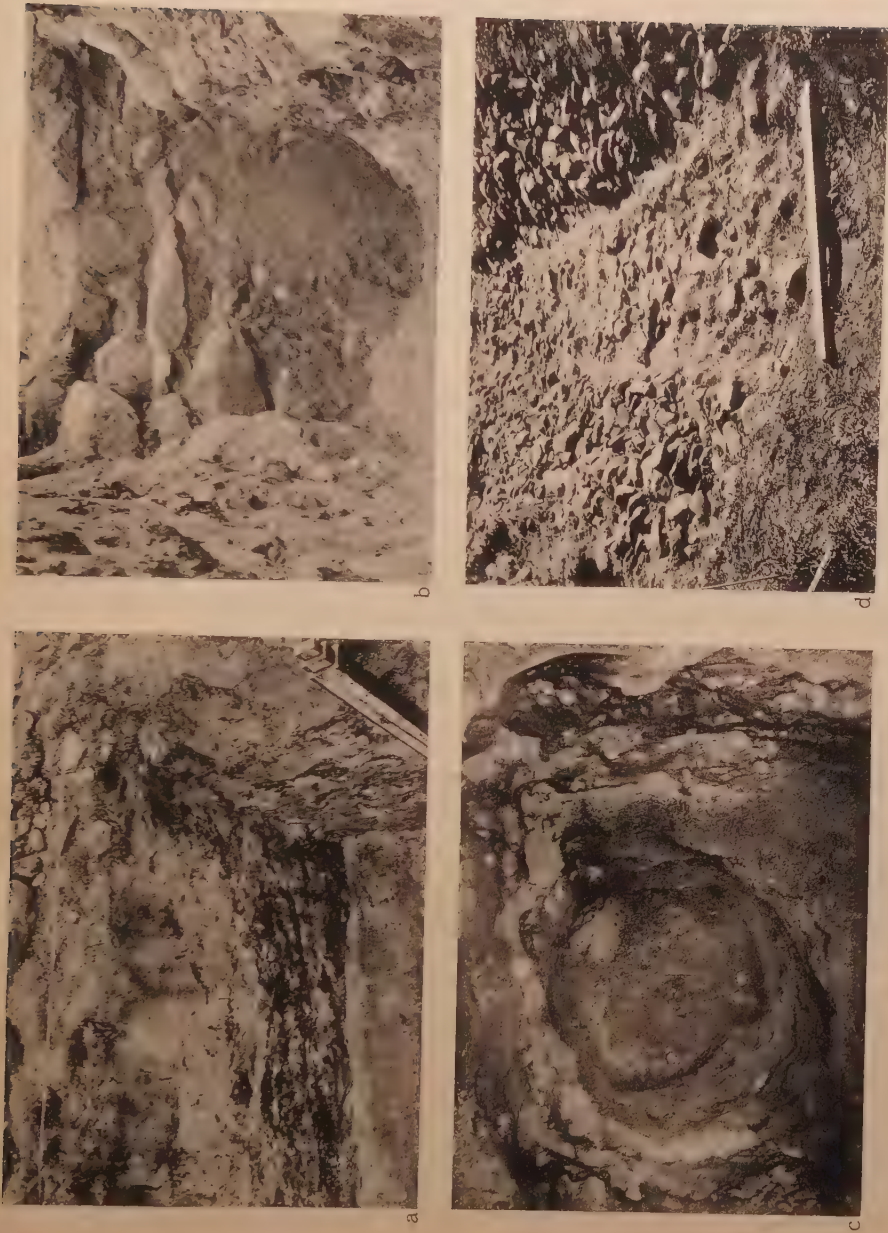


c

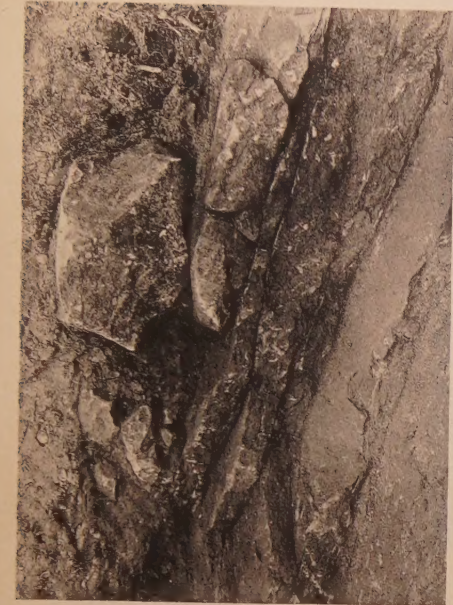


d

MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON. PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS.
a. Stone retaining wall embedded in sand-and-timber core, Section A.
b. Stone-capping of inner face of rampart, Section A.
c. Shaft through alternate layers of sand and charred timber, Section B.
d. Outer face of inner rampart, Section B.



MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON. PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS.
a. Core of northern entrance rampart showing canted timber, Section C.
b. Side elevation of entrance causeway showing adjacent post-hole, Section C.
c. Vertical photograph of post-hole, Section C.
d. Oblique photograph of entrance causeway showing wheel-tracks.



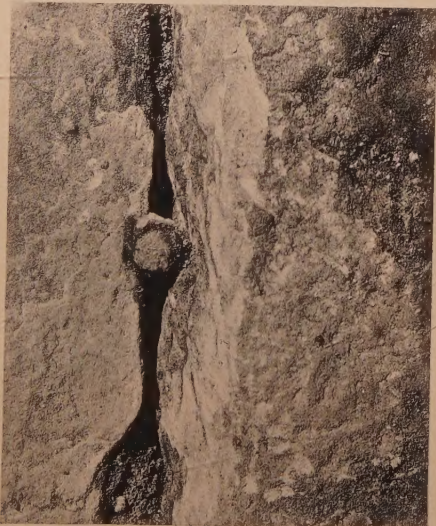
a



b



c



d

MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON. PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS.

- a. Edges of quarried area, showing tool marks.
- b. Polygonal boulder at base of inner rampart resting on quarried edge.
- c. Quarry wedge *in situ*.
- d. Section of quarry dump.



a



b



c



d

MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON. PRELIMINARY EXCAVATIONS.

- a. Micro-photograph of carbon-free section of iron wedge. Scale 250:1.
- b. Wedges and hammer-stone found in quarried area.
- c. Micro-photograph of section of iron wedge with 0.6 per cent. carbon. Scale 250:1.
- d. Oblique view of built-stone walling where it disappears under outer rampart.

